ABSTRACT

HISTORY

FEARMAN, DERRICK G. **B.A YORK UNIVERSITY, 1995**

A STUDY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND AFRICAN-CANADIAN EDUCATION 1896-1954

Advisors: Professor Emmanuel Konde and Professor Janice-Sumler Edmond

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This study compares segregated education in the United States and Canada from 1896 to 1954. The study was based on the premise that blacks in the United States and Canada similarly received a substandard level of education stemming from a common experience. A case study analysis and a comparative approach were used to analyze data obtained from both the United States and Canada. This data included primary and secondary source material such as autobiographies, newspapers, government documents, historical journals, archival resources and other published and unpublished sources.

The conclusions drawn from this study suggest that blacks in the United States and Canada had similar experiences under segregated education. Additionally, African-Americans and African-Canadians were instructed under education systems that reinforced the myths of white supremacy and black inferiority.

A STUDY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND AFRICAN-CANADIAN EDUCATION, 1896-1954

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DERRICK G. FEARMAN

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INTRODUCTION

In 1903, famed sociologist and historian William Edward Burghardt Du Bois wrote The Souls of Black Folk, an important historical book because of its critical examination of the African-American social position at the turn of the twentieth century. In his discussion of African-American public schools in Georgia, Du Bois noted: "Of every five dollars spent for public education in the State of Georgia, the white schools get four dollars and the Negro one dollar . . . ."[1]

In contrast, in 1907, author D.D. Buck wrote that "Canada was certainly an advocate of freedom before the civil strife in the United States as well as the black and woman suffrage." Buck continued, "Canada affords the same privileges and rights to colored men and women as she does to the white."[2] Buck seemed to imply that African-Canadians stood on a plane of social equality with white Canadians in the twentieth century. However, closer examination of the social treatment of blacks in Canada after 1900, particularly in the area of education, shows that Buck's comments were clearly unfounded.

The fact is that the United States and Canada share a history of racially-segregated education, but this fact has not been adequately addressed in historical literature. Yet, it is clear that there has been discrimination toward African groups in the educational institutions of these two countries. Particularly, historians have not addressed the issue of segregated education in Canada.

The "North Star Myth" is at the center of this oversight. This Myth proposes that the North Star provided a welcome beacon for fugitive slaves fleeing the brutality of slavery in the United States. Over the decades, many Canadians glorified stories of hopeful runaways using the Underground Railroad and eluding capture while they followed the North Star. These stories supposedly ended at the border where the slaves reached Canadian soil and freedom.[3]

According to the legend, the North Star led slaves, not just out of slavery, but into freedom, equality, and full participation in Canadian life. The North Star Myth became a part of the Canadian identity and a major feature used to distinguish Canadians from Americans. Conventional wisdom viewed Americans as racist, violent people who denied African-Americans their citizenship, while Canadians were the opposite in character.[4]

The problem is that the North Star Myth became a liability for Canada because it prevented any sincere examination of the situation faced by African-Canadians and other "visible minorities." Furthermore, the North Star Myth allowed Canadians to believe that they did not have a "race problem." However, an examination of race relations in the United States and Canada during the first half of the twentieth century reveals that there were similar racial problems in both countries.[5] One object of this thesis is the illumination of those similarities.

The following terms will be used in this study. The word "segregation" refers to "the enforced separation of different racial groups in a community." Segregation, as used in this thesis, can be either de jure (by law) or de facto (by practice). Both Americans and Canadians used the word segregation to designate racially separate schools, whether they resulted from a law or a social practice. The term "African-American" refers to people of African heritage who lived in the Southern United States. For the sake of a more equitable comparison and because the African-Canadian population was so small, this investigation concentrates on only that portion of the African-American population that lived in the South. "African-Canadian" refers to people of African descent in Canada. This second group includes immigrants from various parts of the world, including the

United States, the West Indies, and the African continent itself.

A final note must be made about sources. In contrast to the wealth of material that is available about segregated education in the United States, the data available in the case of Canada is sparse. Therefore, the study of the African-Canadian experience is currently a work in progress. Hence, this paper will focus primarily on the United States with brief insights into the Canadian predicament.

The first chapter of this study, "Separate and Unequal Treatment: The United States and Canada During the First Half of the Twentieth Century," discusses race relations in the United States and Canada during that period. The chapter will show how these nations treated African-Americans and African-Canadians as second-class citizens through both de jure and de facto discrimination. Consequently, the second-class citizenry of African-Americans and African-Canadians became the foundation for the poor standard of education for these two groups. This poor quality of education was both separate and unequal in comparison to the standard of education that whites in both countries received.

The title of the second chapter is "The Effect of Industrial Education on African-American and African-

Canadian Schools, 1896-1954." This chapter demonstrates that some whites used industrial education, a program espoused by Booker T. Washington and others, to perpetuate the poor quality of education that blacks in the United States and Canada received. In the United States, this perpetuation occurred in two ways.

First, Southern whites used industrial education as a tool to maintain the societal status quo in the South. Under that societal status quo, African-Americans were treated as second-class citizens, deemed as being capable of performing only inferior, "Negro jobs." Industrial education trained African-Americans to do such "Negro jobs" as cooking, agriculture, and brick-making. Second, industrial education promoted segregated education in the South. Many Southern school boards supported industrial education for black children and a liberal arts education for whites. The end result was that industrial education became a cornerstone of separate but unequal education for blacks.

In Canada, some African-Canadians embraced the industrial education model. For the most part, the ramifications of their acceptance also kept African-Canadians in a position of second-class citizenship. Industrial education schools in Canada trained African-Canadians in unskilled and domestic labor. Blacks were

trained as domestic servants and farm help. In 1940, 60 percent of all black female workers in Canada were domestic servants.[6] Consequently, African-Canadians educated in such disciplines had limited economic or social mobility within the larger society.

Finally, chapter three, "Segregated Education and Financial Hardship," shows that both African-American schools and African-Canadian schools lacked the essential funding of their white counterparts. Appropriations at the state and local levels of government demonstrate that white schools received substantially more money than black schools. As a result, there was a shortage of teachers in black schools, and less equipment and supplies in black schools than in white schools. In spite of these obstacles, there were a few black schools in both the United States and Canada that managed to build a successful education program for their students.

NOTES

[1]W.E.B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk, in Three Negro Classics, with an Introduction by John Hope Franklin (New York: Avon Books, 1965), 331.

[2]D.D. Buck, The Progression of the Race (Chicago: Atwell Printing & Binding Co., 1907), 111.

[3]James W. St. G. Walker, Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, Historical Booklet No. 41, 1985), 6.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid., 6-7.

[6]Dionne Brand, "We Weren't Allowed to Go into Factory Work" in 'We're Rooted Here and they Can't Pull Us Up', Eds., Peggy Bristow, Sylvia Hamilton, Adrienne Shadd, Afua P. Cooper, Dionne Brand, and Linda Carty (Toronto and Buffalo: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1994), 178.

CHAPTER ONE

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL TREATMENT: THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Racially-segregated schools were the rule rather than the exception in the United States and Canada between 1896 and 1954. Whites in both countries treated African-Americans and African-Canadians as inferior beings. As a result of this treatment, both groups received a poor quality of education. This chapter will show that whites used both de jure and de facto discrimination, not only to provide blacks with second-rate education, but also to reinforce black inferiority. The chapter will first examine legal segregation in both the United States and Canada, followed by a discussion of social segregation in both countries respectively.

In the United States, several court cases and several pieces of legislation conveyed the message to African-Americans that they would not have the same educational opportunities as whites. One court case that had significant implications for the education of African-Americans was Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). In this case, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that a Louisiana

state law requiring separate accommodations for whites and African-Americans on railway trains did not violate the Constitution. The Court further decided to leave the question of social equality up to the people themselves:

> If the civil and political rights of both races be equal one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane.[1]

This decision had far-reaching implications for race relations in the Southern United States. Following that decision, Southern states enacted many laws that made segregation the accepted practice throughout the South. For example, the South Carolina code of 1915 prohibited textile workers from laboring together in the same room, or from using the same entrances, pay windows, exits, doorways, and stairways. Mixed race toilets, drinking water, buckets, pails, cups, dippers or glasses were also prohibited.[2]

In Virginia, a 1930 statute required segregation in all public facilities. These facilities included every theater, opera house, public hall, or other place of public entertainment which accepted both white and African-American patrons. This statute also punished as a misdemeanor any violation of the statute's provisions by either the owner or a patron of either race.[3]

The implications of the Plessy decision were not confined to the sphere of public accommodations alone. In

the area of education, the Plessy case led to state enactment of laws legalizing segregated schooling in the entire South. Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia all had laws that required whites and African-Americans to go to separate public schools between 1900 and 1954.[4]

One case that specifically endorsed segregated education in the South was the case of Cumming v. School Board of Richmond County, Georgia (1899). The case began in 1880, when the Richmond County School Board established Ware High School in Augusta, Georgia. Ware High was the only public high school for blacks in Georgia and one of approximately four such schools in the entire South. This school became a source of pride and an avenue of mobility for Augusta's striving black community.[5]

Yet on 10 July 1897, the school board voted to close Ware high school, explaining that African-American elementary schools were financially hard-pressed. The school board also alleged that the annual budget of $845 to operate Ware High was needed to hire four new teachers for the black elementary schools. The local African-American community strongly protested the decision and initiated a series of lawsuits that ended up in the U.S. Supreme Court.[6]

In the Supreme Court Case, Cumming v. Richmond County School Board, Augusta, Georgia, the lawyers for Augusta's African-American plaintiffs argued that the Plessy v. Ferguson case of 1896 allowed states to racially segregate only if the accommodations and facilities in public institutions were equal. However, Justice John Marshall Harlan avoided the issue of whether or not the Plessy case required equal school facilities. Instead, Harlan followed his belief that the school board would respond to a court injunction by closing white high schools rather than reopening Ware. Harlan argued that for Ware High School to be reopened, the plaintiffs had to show that race was the only factor that led to the Richmond County school board's decision.[7]

On behalf of the Supreme Court, Harlan ruled that the plaintiffs did not establish such a case. This ruling was handed down even though the plaintiffs' lawyers demonstrated that the Richmond County School Board provided sufficient elementary schools for whites but not for blacks, and paid significantly higher salaries to white than to black teachers. Most importantly, the Board closed Ware, the only African-American high school, while maintaining two white public high schools.[8]

The Cumming case made it clear that African-Americans in the South had little hope of receiving equal treatment

under the law in the area of public education. The evidence presented in the case also showed that there was an obvious agenda by Augusta's white community to provide African-Americans in that city with little or no education at all. Therefore, both the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the "equal, but separate" rule of Plessy were useless principles for the black community because the Supreme Court showed that it was not going to enforce these principles as demonstrated in the Cumming case.[9]

The U.S. Supreme Court ruling in Cumming sent an appalling message. The message was that Southern school boards did not have to offer public secondary education to African-American youth. Significantly, the Cumming case was also the first time that the Supreme Court addressed the issue of racial discrimination in education, and its decision had important ramifications for the future development of Southern black secondary education. For instance, it was not until 1945, nearly a half century after the closing of Ware High school, that a full four-year public high school for blacks was reestablished in Richmond County, Georgia.[10]

An examination of secondary education in 1915 reveals that African-Americans had no public high schools in twenty-three Southern cities, while whites residing in those same

cities had between one and four public high schools.[11] These facts show explicitly that blacks were not given equal educational opportunities in the South during the first half of the twentieth century. The lack of educational opportunities for blacks endorsed by the Cumming case also translated into a dead-end for African-Americans who wanted to pursue higher education in the South.

In 1927, there were no accredited African-American high schools in the state of Alabama. R. G. McGenee, State Supervisor of Secondary Schools for Negroes in Alabama, noted that this situation was not the result of poor work habits in African-American high schools but most certainly because accreditation was decided by the racially-biased decisions of the association of colleges and secondary schools in the districts where African-American schools were located. This assertion of racial bias is supported by the fact that school accreditation in Alabama had uniform requirements which several African-American schools met.[12]

Alabama schools had to have a certain number of required recitations in the various subjects studied, a certain amount of time for each recitation, and a certain quality of teaching personnel. Further, schools in Alabama had to have a minimum amount of equipment in laboratories for science, a minimum allotment of laboratory periods and library facilities which covered a selection of books needed

for the four years of high school work. While African-American schools met all of these requirements, they still were not accredited.[13] For African-American high schools in Alabama, the failure to receive accreditation meant African-Americans could not pursue higher education. The Cumming case set the legal precedent for white communities to deny educational opportunities for blacks. Alabama followed this precedent in 1927. As a result of the Cumming case, whites had the power to determine whether black schools could exist in the South.

Another example of white Southerners' control over the lives of African-American schools in the South was their abuse of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. There is substantial evidence that Southern states creatively manipulated federal legislation to preserve unequal education in the South. The Smith-Hughes Act was named after its legislative sponsors Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia and Congressman Dudley M. Hughes who also represented Georgia. The Smith-Hughes Act was designed to:

> Provide for the promotion of vocational education; to provide for cooperation with the states in the promotion of such education in agriculture and the trades and industries; to provide for cooperation with the states in the preparation of teachers of vocational subjects; and to appropriate money and regulate its expenditure.[14]

All states adopted the Smith-Hughes Act. Those Southern states which legally maintained segregated schools

for African-Americans also retained separate programs for them as well. The problem with the Smith-Hughes Act was that it did not provide any legislative safeguards to guarantee fair treatment of African-Americans in separate schools. Although the act seemed to have promising objectives on paper, in practice, the act did not have any legislative safeguards to enforce those objectives. The administration of the fund, was left to the discretion of racially-biased state vocational boards and the Federal Board which placed African-Americans in a disadvantaged position.[15]

The Smith-Hughes Act had a loophole which permitted abuse by Southern school boards: The Act allocated funds on the basis of population size alone. Funding was not targeted for African-American schools specifically, so Southern school boards could do as they pleased with African-Americans' share of the funds. This method of funding did not allow black schools to operate efficiently. In other words, there were no checks or balances to guarantee that Southern state school boards would distribute the funds fairly.

Under the Smith-Hughes Act, the federal government distributed funds among the states on the basis of the size of their rural population. Conversely, funds for trades and industries, and home economics education were allocated

according to the size of the urban population. Finally, for teacher training in various subjects, the federal government allocated funds according to the total population of each state.[16]

The Smith-Hughes Act required states to do several things: (a) to furnish the equipment for carrying on the vocational program approved by the government; (b) to match dollar for dollar the funds provided by the Federal Government; (c) to confine their programs to a level less than college grade; (d) to designate a state board to administer the program in conjunction with the Federal Board (Thirty-two states designated the regular state board of education for this purpose); (e) to expend the funds only on schools and classes under public control; and (f) to submit plans indicating minimum qualifications of teachers, length of courses and numerous other similar standards imposed by the Federal Board.[17]

Because of the way the funds were distributed, the Act contributed to the poor condition of African-American schools in the South. On 1 September, 1928, the state inspector of African-American schools in Missouri, N.B. Young, reported his findings about African-American education in the state to the Ministerial Alliance at the Ebenezer Parish House. Young reported: "All sorts of indescribable conditions exist in Missouri due to the

unwillingness of the district officers to provide school facilities for Negro children."[18]

Young explained that in one particular area of the state, there was no public high school for African-American children although there was more than enough children to build a school under the law. Yet, while whites denied the authorization of a school for African-Americans a school operated in the same area for one white boy. In Southeastern Missouri, Young found an African-American school in a barn and a stable where the horse lot served as a playground.[19] Instead of being able to play "Ring Around the Rosy," these African-American children had to play "Ring Around the Dung Heap."

The condition of African-American education was just as alarming in Georgia. In 1930, J. C. Dixon, supervisor of African-American education in Georgia conducted a survey of the educational condition and concluded that the lack of adequate financial support by the state was the basic explanation for the slow development of educational opportunities for African-Americans. Consequently, while African-American children made up 39.3 percent of the total school population, a mere 2.7 percent of the African-American enrollment was of high school level.[20]

Additionally, the average school term for African-Americans was only 85 percent as long as that for whites.

The shorter school term meant that African-Americans had less time to learn the same amount of material as white children.[21] This is yet another example of the substandard education provided for blacks in the South.

Substandard education for African-Canadians was legally and socially sanctioned in Canada as well. The history of legalized segregation in Canada dates back to 1850. In that year, Sir Egerton Ryerson, superintendent of schools for Canada West (Ontario), instituted clause XIX of the Common School Act to authorize the establishment of separate schools for "Coloured People". Thereafter, this provision led to the opening of several segregated schools in the province of Ontario. Clause XIX remained on the statute books of Ontario long past the year 1954.[22]

Other areas of Canada also gave the force of law to segregated education. The Nova Scotia Education Act of 1918 stipulated that the Council of Public Instruction could carry out recommendations from any school inspector to establish separate buildings for different sexes or races of students. The Council could implement such recommendations on the condition that segregated students were not barred from instruction in their communities. Nevertheless, even after the racial reference was dropped from the statute in the 1920s, African-Canadians continued to attend poorly-equipped segregated schools.[23]

Although Canada enacted legislation to promote the creation of segregated schools, the nation did not legally embrace segregated education to the same extent as the Southern United States. Although it is not known exactly why this was the case, it may be that Canadians thought that they were morally superior to American Southerners and refrained from engaging in the rigid dehumanization of blacks practiced in the South. It could also be that the black population in Canada was too small to warrant such attention from the federal government.

The evidence seems to point to the latter statement as a viable explanation because Canada did everything to keep blacks out of the country between 1896 and 1954. It seems that Canada did not want a "race problem" like the United States and Canada's leaders thought that the best way to prevent such a problem was to stop blacks at the border. Thus, Canada used discriminatory immigration laws to keep potential black students, teachers, and other professionals out of the country.

For example, in 1911, Canada sent its immigration officials to the Southern states to discourage African-American immigrants. Immigration authorities rigorously enforced medical, character, and financial examinations at border points, while the Canadian government rewarded immigration officials who disqualified blacks. The Canadian

government also encouraged American railways to deny blacks passage to Canada.[24] During that same year, the Canadian Minister of Immigration, W. D. Scott, made the following statement regarding the immigration of blacks to Canada:

> At no time has the immigration of this race been encouraged by the government, and it must be with regret that students of the immigration problem view the movement of colored persons from Oklahoma to the western provinces which commenced during 1911. The Negro problem, which faces the United States and which Abraham Lincoln said could be settled only by shipping one and all back to a tract of land in Africa is one in which Canadians have no desire to share. It is hoped that climatic conditions will prove unsatisfactory to those new settlers, and that the fertile lands of the West will be left to be cultivated by the white race only.[25]

The Immigration Act in 1911 gave the Canadian government the power to prohibit entry "to any nationality or race if such immigrants are deemed unsuitable to climactic, industrial, social, educational, labor or other conditions" of Canada or "because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated."[26] This provision basically allowed the Canadian government to keep anyone out of the country, particularly a black person.

After 1923, Canadian legislators wrote and revised the Immigration Act to deny equal immigration status to blacks. Although a regulation of the Act admitted immigrants for "cases of exceptional merit", cases in the years prior to 1951 indicate that Canadian immigration authorities rejected applications from black people who had highly desirable

skills. These skills included nursing, drafting, and teaching. In the educational profession, black students in various fields were refused admission or extensions to complete their studies in Canada. As a result, some black students and teachers had to go to other countries such as the United States, to be trained. With such stringent immigration laws, it was no coincidence that good teachers were hard to find in African-Canadian schools during the period.[27]

There is sufficient evidence to indicate that African-Canadian schools suffered from a lack of competent teachers. One reason for the scarcity was that African-Canadian schools tended to be in rural areas.[28] Nova Scotia school inspector, Mayhew C. Foster noted the difficulties in finding African-Canadian teachers for several rural schools in 1918:

> The Colored Sections of Inglewood, Joggin and Weymouth Falls had school the entire year. The first two named were taught by competent colored teachers holding permissive licences, the latter by a white permissive licensed teacher. The only way to obtain teachers for these sections is by a means of granting permissives.[29]

In 1919 a province of Manitoba report on teachers' status and salaries confirms that rural areas were in desperate need of teachers:

> The report issued by the Superintendent for Quebec shows that out of 9,222 lay teachers employed in the elementary and secondary schools, 765 or 8 percent,

> are teaching without diplomas. . . . Another inspector says that in his division 23 percent of the teachers in rural schools were working on permits, and only 43 percent of these were found to be competent.[30]

In the province of Ontario a similar situation existed. The Minister of Education reported that the need for competent teachers in Ontario's rural schools was a serious problem.[31]

The report further maintained that "The rural school and rural teacher problem is not peculiar to Manitoba." In general, rural schools in Canada had difficulty finding suitable teachers. There were numerous cases in which rural schools had two, three, and even up to eight teachers in one year. It was exceptional to find a teacher in a rural school for two or three continuous years. "The unfortunate aspect of this situation is that it has come to be accepted by teachers and trustees as a matter of course that the teacher will remain only one year," noted the 1919 report.[32]

Thus, when Canadian immigration authorities decided to stop qualified African-American teachers from entering Canada, these authorities prevented African-Canadian schools from obtaining much-needed, qualified, teaching help. As a result, African-Canadian schools were second-rate compared to white schools. In 1929, African-Canadian schools and public schools in Nova Scotia were poverty-stricken and suffered from a need of teachers, equipment, and transportation. However, in seven localities, African-

Canadian schools operated during the summer while white schools functioned for a full term.[33] Again, as in the case of African-American children in Georgia in 1930, African-Canadian children had less time to do the same amount of work as white children.

However, poor schools were but a microcosm of the inferior status of African-Americans and African-Canadians in the larger society during the first half of the twentieth century. Whites treated blacks as second-class citizens in all areas of society. In such areas as housing, public accommodations and every day social contact, whites demonstrated their contempt for the black race. This contempt was the basis for segregated education in both countries.

In the Southern United States, whites did not want African-Americans in their communities. The peculiar thing about residential segregation in the South was that although black neighborhoods were located in close proximity to white communities, they remained separate and never mixed. In 1903, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois described his observations of residential segregation in the South:

> It is usually possible to draw in nearly every southern community a physical color-line on the map, on the one side of which whites dwell and on the other Negroes. . . . I know some towns where a straight line drawn through the middle of the main street separates nine-tenths of the blacks. In other towns the older settlement of whites has been encircled by a broad band

> of blacks; in still other cases little settlements or nuclei of blacks have sprung up amid surrounding whites. Usually in cities each street has its distinctive color, and only now and then do the colors meet in close proximity.[34]

Another example of residential segregation existed in the Georgia cities of Atlanta and Greenville during the 1920s. In both cities, African-Americans and whites lived in separate neighborhoods. In other cities, such as New Orleans, the law required a person to obtain the consent of the majority of residents in an area before establishing residence in that neighborhood.[35]

Blacks in the South were reminded daily of their second-class status through an interracial etiquette that degraded black people. This etiquette involved a series of codes of social usage required by custom and tradition in all forms of contact between African-Americans and whites. These codes regulated greetings, salutations, and conversations. For example, African-Americans normally addressed white men with the title "Mister." Familiarity with the individual allowed African-Americans to address whites by their first name, such as "Mr. John" or "Miss Mary."[36]

However, whites did not have to address African-Americans in a respectful manner. Titles usually given to whites were rarely if ever used when addressing African-Americans. The title of "Mrs." was especially forbidden for

African-American women. The widow of Booker T. Washington for example, was referred to as simply "the widow of Booker T. Washington" or a noted "negress." In like manner, African-American males of high social standing were called "Parson," "Reverend," "Professor," or "Doctor," but never "Mister."[37]

Thus, whenever members of the two races met in public areas, such interracial rituals occurred. In hotels, offices, restaurants, or other public places reserved for whites, the African-American was expected to remove his hat whether whites had done so or not. Conversely, white men did not have to remove their hats in public or private places reserved for African-Americans. No matter how low his or her socio-economic class, a white person was not expected to show courtesy to an African-American.[38]

Whites also segregated African-Americans in public facilities in the South. In 1902, the city of Atlanta, Georgia, received a Carnegie Library worth $5,000. The library was paid for through taxes by all residents of Atlanta. Although African-Americans contributed to the tax through their hard-earned money, they were excluded from the library. Shamefully, the only exception was an African-American servant, who could enter the library to obtain a book for a white person. In 1904, Andrew Carnegie offered $10,000 for an African-American library if Atlanta would

supply the site and the $1,000 annual operating costs. While African-Americans agreed to furnish the site, the city refused to help, and Atlanta's blacks did not obtain a library until 1921. Thus, in their quest to educate themselves through books, African-Americans in Atlanta were thwarted because of discrimination.[39]

Acquiring outdoor recreational facilities provided another challenge for African-Americans. For example, in 1911, Atlanta had no parks for African-Americans. By 1915 there were only two parks for blacks while whites could enjoy eleven parks. In 1926 African-Americans could only use three of Atlanta's twenty-four parks. In 1940, Atlanta passed an ordinance that placed all of Grant Park, except for the zoo, off limits to the city's African-American population. African-Americans were not allowed to walk in white parks and many black people were arrested for walking through parks on their way to work.[40]

In addition to this segregation, whites deemed it necessary to separate the races in schools. A separate and an inferior education for African-Americans reinforced the social practices of the times. From the white point of view educating blacks and whites in the same classrooms would have challenged their belief in white supremacy.

Laws and social customs were not the only methods whites used to vent their feelings of superiority over

African-Americans. Some whites resorted to mob violence or "lynching." In her autobiography Ida B. Wells, an early twentieth century African-American journalist and anti-lynching crusader, explained that false reasons were given by the white media and authorities in order to "demonize" African-Americans. Common reasons given for the lynching of African-Americans were accusations of rape, criminal activities, or inciting a race riot. By depicting African-Americans as inhumane monsters, white authorities and the white media justified the acts of lynching.[41]

Upon his examination of the lynchings that occurred in 1917, W. E. B. Du Bois noted many cases which accused the African-American victims of committing heinous crimes, usually against white people. On 2 March 1917, Linton Clinton was shot in Meigs, Georgia, for allegedly assaulting a white girl. El Persons was hanged and then burned, reportedly for rape and murder in Memphis, Tennessee, on 22 May. Also, on 3 September, Charles Jennings was shot in Beaumont, Texas, for reasons unknown.[42] These were just three of the thirty reported lynchings that year.

No matter what the reasons were, whites continued to lynch African-Americans with impunity as the twentieth century progressed. On 24 January 1934, an African-American named Rey Scott was lynched in Kentucky for supposedly punching Alexander Johnson, a white miner. While Scott was

being held in the Perry County jail, he was taken from the prison by a mob of 150 men who carried him into another county and hanged him. Afterwards, several bullets were riddled into Scott's body.[43]

Likewise, on 5 June of that same year, two African-Americans were lynched after being accused of attacking the wife of a plantation manager at Sledge, Mississippi. A mob of over 100 men seized the two African-Americans, Joe Love and Isaac Thomas, from Sheriff W. T. Haynes and his two deputies, and hanged them from a small highway bridge. Love and Thomas were alleged to have confessed to the assault although there was no proof that they had done so. The Atlanta Journal reported that Sheriff Haynes was stopped by men in fifteen or twenty automobiles, who "overpowered him and his deputies and seized the Negroes and whisked the away."[44] While the newspaper article exonerated the police officers in the Love-Thomas case, in many such situations the authorities were accomplices to the lynchings.

The times were rife with acts of violence to enforce white superiority. Whether it was in housing, public accommodations or daily social contact, whites demonstrated their attitude of superiority toward African-Americans. This attitude also spilled over into the sphere of African-American education. The attitude of white superiority pervaded Southern society prior to the 1930s, however.

When whites met in 1899 at the Capon Springs, West Virginia, conference that started the Southern education movement, they talked about universal and industrial education for both blacks and whites. At the same time however, their construction of universal education was based on white supremacy. Educational leaders at this conference seemed to agree that blacks were inherently inferior to whites. Northern philanthropist William H. Baldwin discussed industrial training as a form of racial subordination:

> The potential economic value of the Negro population properly educated is infinite and incalculable. In the Negro is the opportunity of the South. Time has proven that he is best fitted to perform the heavy labor in the Southern states. . . . Properly directed he is the best possible laborer to meet the climatic conditions of the South. He will fill the more menial positions, and do the heavy work, at less wages, than the American white man or any foreign race which has yet come to our shores. This will permit the Southern white laborer to perform the more expert labor, and to leave the fields, the mines, and the simpler trades for the Negro.[45]

At the Fourth Conference for Education in the South, the idea of black inferiority was present once again. In 1901 northern philanthropists and Southern educational reformers met in North Carolina to discuss universal education. One speaker, Charles W. Dabney, then president of the University of Tennessee, called for universal education for blacks and whites and compulsory attendance

laws. His comments at the meeting made it clear that he believed in the innate inferiority of African-Americans:

> We must use common sense in the education of the Negro. We must recognize in all its relations that momentous fact that the Negro race is a child race, at least two thousand years behind the Anglo-Saxon in its development.[46]

Given this trend of thought, it is no wonder that both Northern philanthropists and Southern educators believed in a second-class level of education to prepare African-Americans for subordinate roles in the Southern economy.[47] Moreover, the comments made by Baldwin and Dabney shows that the black education system was set up to fail from the start. African-American education was set up to fail in the sense of not providing black children with an avenue of mobility out of their second-class social position. Rather, the black education system was set up to support the myths of black inferiority and white supremacy.

Segregated education supported the myth of African-American inferiority. Southern school boards ensured that course contents would only support traditional white supremacy. For example, a book that was widely used at the time was A History of Georgia by popular columnist Charles H. Smith. Smith maintained that education made African-Americans lazy and disrespectful. Many black teachers strongly opposed this book.[48]

Further fueling the notion of black inferiority was the poor condition of African-American school buildings. While African-Americans were required to have separate but equal facilities under the law, school buildings for African-Americans were substandard. In 1910, only half of the classrooms for African-Americans in Georgia were standard school buildings. Most of these so-called schools had leaking roofs, rotten floors, and cold, drafty classrooms. These decrepit buildings were also overcrowded.[49]

In 1916, African-American schools in Savannah turned away seven hundred students even though Savannah classrooms were overcrowded and held double-shifts. Classes that held double-shifts meant that one group of students attended in the morning, another in the afternoon. Both shifts had the same teacher.[50] Such were the conditions encountered in the vast majority of African-American schools in the early twentieth century.

African-Canadians were also subjected to the discriminatory conditions suffered by African-Americans in segregated Southern schools. Insights into the Canadian situation can be seen through the autobiographical accounts of several African-Canadians who lived in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century. These accounts illustrate that African-Canadians were segregated. African-Canadian Carol Talbot described her experiences in Growing

Up Black in Canada. Talbot was born and raised in Windsor, Ontario. She noted that fact that during the 1920s swimming pools were residentially segregated areas in Canada:

> Dad and his young friends also knew why they could only swim, on those hot, humid, summer days of southwestern Ontario, at certain beaches. There was no pollution then along the seventy-five miles of sandy beach from Mitchell's Bay, at the Northeast end of the county, westward along the shore of Lake St. Clair, the Detroit River and the north shore of Lake Erie, but blacks could only swim at four spots along that shoreline: the foot of Bridge Ave. In Windsor; Smitty's, west of the town of Sandwich; Waterworks Park in Amherstburg; and Colchester Beach.

There were also racially exclusive church picnics, bowling alleys, and amusement parks. In addition, signs were posted such as "White Gentiles Only," and "No Jews or Colored People Allowed."[51]

Like Carol Talbot, Harry Gairey also lived in Canada during the early decades of the twentieth century. However, unlike Talbot, Gairey was an immigrant. Gairey's reminiscences as a black man living in Toronto, Canada, were recorded in A Black Man's Toronto 1914-1980 edited by Donna Hill. Born in Jamaica in 1898, Gairey left his family in Cuba and went to Canada in August 1914. By the 1920s, however, Gairey realized that being a black person carried a social stigma in Toronto. He described the problems encountered by African-Canadians in these words:

> You couldn't go to Eaton's and ask for a job, or to Bell Telephone. It was unheard of to go to a restaurant

> or a public dance. You wouldn't go there because you weren't welcome. That's a fact you see.[52]

Another black immigrant, Donald Moore, wrote an autobiography based on his experiences in Canada. Moore's autobiographical account also confirms that de facto segregation was a harsh reality for blacks in the early twentieth century. Born in Barbados in 1891, Moore worked as a Pullman Porter in Canada. He arrived in 1913 by way of Ellis Island, New York, in February of that year. In 1918, Moore took a train ride from Toronto to Halifax to attend Dalhousie University. Upon Moore's arrival, he was refused service in two different restaurants because of his skin color. Furthermore, several apartment managers refused to rent to him as well.[53]

As in the case of racially-restrictive public accommodations, de facto segregation was evident in Canada's military. The African-Canadian experience during World War I is a case in point. At the start of the war in 1914, African-Canadians wanted to exercise their patriotism by fighting for Canada. However, many African-Canadians who volunteered for the Canadian Expeditionary Force were turned away from recruiting stations in provinces across the country, from Nova Scotia in eastern Canada to British Columbia in the West.[54] The Chief of General Staff, Major-General W. G. Gwatkin, made comments at the time which

reflected the Canadian military's attitude toward enlisting blacks:

> Nothing is gained by blinking facts. The civilized Negro is vain and imitative; in Canada he is not being impelled to enlist by a high sense of duty; in the trenches he is not likely to make a good fighter; and the average white man will not associate with him on terms of equality.[55]

Thereafter, black leaders throughout the country protested against the exclusion of black volunteers. One such protest came from George Morton of Hamilton, Ontario. In a letter to Major Gwatkin dated September 7, 1915, Morton wrote:

> The reason for drawing your attention to this matter and directly leading to the request for this information is the fact that a number of Colored men in this city (Hamilton) who have offered for enlistment and service, have been turned down and refused, solely on the grounds of color or complexional distinction, this being the reason given on the rejection or refusal card issued by the recruiting officer. As humble but loyal subjects of the King[56] trying to work out their own destiny, they think they should be permitted in common with other peoples to perform their part . . . in this great conflict. So our people gratefully remembering their obligations in this respect, are most anxious to serve their King and Country in this critical crisis in its history, and they do not think they should be prevented from so doing, on the ground of the hue of their skin.[57]

In response to such protests, Gwatkin remarked that the Minister of Defense was not in favor of raising an African-Canadian regiment: "In the last extremity we might organize a company or two. But would Canadian Negroes make good fighting men? I do not think so," said Gwatkin.[58]

Meanwhile in New Brunswick, Canada, twenty African-Canadian volunteers persisted in their efforts to enlist and were finally accepted into the army. But on 15 November 1915, when these African-Canadians reported to the military camp at Sussex, they were not allowed to join the 104th Battalion. They were sent back to Saint John, New Brunswick. Following this incident, on 25 November 1915, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Fowler, the officer in command of the 104th Overseas Battalion, wrote to the Acting Adjutant General, 6th Division in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Fowler discharged the twenty black soldiers primarily because of their race: "I have been fortunate to have secured a very fine class of recruits", said Fowler, "I did not think it fair to these men that they should have to mingle with Negroes."[59]

Ironically, it was a memorandum from Major General Gwatkin to the Adjutant Generals on 22 December 1915, that became the stimulus for black involvement in the Canadian army, although Gwatkin appeared to support the status quo in recruiting methods (leaving selection to commanding officers). Gwatkin wrote in his memorandum:

> The fiat has gone forth: There is to be no coloured line, coloured battalions are not to be raised; coloured men are to be allowed to enlist in any battalion of the C.E.F. (Canadian Expeditionary Force), but commanding officers (or some of them) object, and what is to be done? It would be humiliating to the coloured men themselves to serve in a battalion where they were not

> wanted, and I think that your own [race][60] is the best solution of the difficulty.[61]

Following Gwatkin's memo, the British War Office in London, England, cabled the Governor General of Canada on 11 May 1916, expressing their willingness to accept a segregated, black war unit. Thus, the No. 2 Construction Battalion, the first and only black battalion in Canadian Military History, was authorized on 5 July 1916. Based at Pictou, Nova Scotia (N.S.), the unit was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel H. Sutherland, a railroad contractor from River John, Nova Scotia. Although recruitment for the unit was a problem, by 1916 approximately 165 African-Americans had been recruited for the Canadian army in the United States. It is believed that Canadian and American authorities entered into an agreement to have African-Americans enlist in the Canadian Army.[62]

Whether it was in public accommodations or the military, whites in Canada segregated blacks during the first half of the twentieth century. The numerous examples of segregated public accommodations and the military give insight into the general sentiment held by whites about blacks in Canada. The common thread discernible in both of these cases is that whites did not want to be associated with blacks because they believed that they were superior to blacks.

This thread had significant ramifications for the nature of education for blacks in Canada. As in the cases of the military and the area of public accommodations, whites made it clear that African-Canadians were not welcome. This was also evident in the public schools. Take for example the case of the Eldon District of Saskatchewan. African-American settlers arrived in the district of Eldon in 1910 and 1911. The district stretched along the south bank of the North Saskatchewan River, about half way between the cities of Lloydminster, on the Alberta-Saskatchewan border, and North Battleford, Saskatchewan. Once they got settled, African-Americans in Eldon tried to obtain a school. However, by 1913, they had still not succeeded in securing a school. They decided to contact the Department of Education in the provincial capital of Regina.[63]

These settlers' farms were located in a school district, but the school was far from them. In order to create a new school district closer to their homes, the settlers had to obtain the local municipal council's permission to change the boundaries. The provincial legislation in effect at that time stated, "Every such application shall set forth clearly and concisely the grounds upon which such application is based and shall be accompanied by a plan showing the proposed alteration."[64]

The local governing body with which the African-American settlers had to deal with was the Council of the Rural Municipality of Eldon No. 471. This Council met on Monday, 10 March 1913, to deliberate over the African-Americans' petition. The Council rejected the petition arguing that the application "being found incorrect in form and computation was ordered to be returned to the petitioners." The African-Americans tried to correct the application, but it was rejected for a second time. The reason given by the Council for the second rejection was that the petitioners were not qualified voters.[65]

The settlers, undeterred by the Council's actions, persuaded a local teacher to contact the provincial educational authorities on their behalf. The teacher wrote to the authorities in late June 1913. In mid-July, the Saskatchewan Department of Education responded, telling the African-Americans to apply to the Council one more time. If nothing was done, then the settlers were to contact the Department again.

The African-Americans once again protested to the provincial authorities, but focused their complaint on the small size of the reworked district. The provincial officials sought an explanation from the Eldon Council. On 11 December 1913, the Council met, and made its Secretary-Treasurer inform the provincial education officials that

"the omission of the western row of sections was owing to the fact that this was strictly comprised of white people whereas the suggested area was wholly a coloured population."[66] The Council made the issue bluntly clear. They did not want to have anything to do with black people in their area.

The whites of Eldon wanted a segregated school district. In their efforts to segregate the African-American settlers, the whites enlisted J. P. Lyle, a provincial Member of the Legislative Assembly. Lyle investigated the situation and told education officials that "The matter is a very important one, as the settlers are considerably worked up about having to send their children to school with the Negroes." After Lyle studied the situation, he concluded that the African-Americans had every right to complain:

> It seems to me that their district is not wide enough, and although it might be better to keep them apart, upon their representation I am led to believe that we are doing them an injustice in treating them differently to any other British subject in the country. They feel this rather keenly, and they say that they are here and that they were brought here by the Government and that they have the same rights as men of other nationalities who are now in this country.[67]

The African-Americans also let the provincial Department of Education know their opinions. They contacted education authorities directly to complain about the Eldon Council's behavior and demanded that the Department approve

the school district they drew up. The settlers emphatically stated:

> If there is a law in this country that does not recognize CREED, COLOUR, OR SOCIAL STANDING you have a chance of showing or proving it to us. Now sir we are waiting to hear from you before taking it up with the Department of Education at Ottawa.[68]

The problem is that the African-Americans did not know that there was no Federal Department of Education in Ottawa or anywhere else for that matter. Sadly, the officials of the Saskatchewan Department of Education supported segregation. The Department developed a plan dropping the disputed white-owned farms from the proposed school district, and solved the size problem by adding black owned farms to the area. Therefore, they created a larger but segregated school district.[69]

The African-Americans protested, but soon discovered that the Department of Education had the final say in the controversy. When the Department decided to go ahead with the all-black school district, African-American settlers refused to serve as trustees, and a white resident had to be appointed. In August 1915 the white official changed the school district's boundaries to add to its tax base. The Eldon school was built in 1915 and opened the following year. African-Americans realized the importance of running their children's school and in 1917 two of them were elected

as trustees. The first teacher at the school was black and until 1919 all of the students were black.[70]

Eventually many of the Eldon school children left the rural area for the city because of limited economic opportunities. Many of the original African-American settlers died or moved away. Gradually white farmers began working the land. Consequently, the Eldon school became integrated. The school district existed until 1951 when it was consolidated along with other small districts of the area into Lloydminster School Unit Number 60.[71]

In final analysis, it is apparent that whites used both legal and de facto segregation to provide blacks with a substandard education in both the United States and Canada between 1896 and 1954. In the United States, the court cases of Plessy v. Ferguson and Cumming v. School Board of Richmond County, Georgia established the legal basis for African-Americans' second-rate education. These important cases set a legal precedent for the dilapidated condition of black schools in America between 1896 and 1954.

However, second-rate African-American schools were a reflection of the treatment of African-Americans in society at large. In housing, public accommodations and daily social contact, whites reminded African-Americans that they were second-class citizens. Whites confined African-Americans to segregated neighborhoods, libraries and parks.

Whites also lynched African-Americans to reinforce their power over blacks.

The African-American education system became a reflection of the white notion of superiority. For example, African-American youth were provided with second-rate facilities, while white children enjoyed new equipment. The conventional wisdom was that since blacks were inferior to whites by nature, they did not deserve equal educational opportunities. Also, whites set up an educational curriculum for African-Americans that treated blacks as inferior to whites. Books and courses conveyed the message that while blacks could be laborers for whites, they were not smart enough to be equal with whites.

In Canada, a similar situation existed among blacks and whites between 1896 and 1954. Whites in Canada used the law to segregate blacks in Canada. However, racist whites relied more heavily upon de facto rather than de jure segregation to treat blacks as second-class citizens. Legislation such as clause XIX of the Common School Act and the Nova Scotia Education Act allowed for the treatment of African-Canadians as a segregated group. Discriminatory immigration policies prevented badly needed black teachers from teaching in African-Canadian schools. This fact in turn contributed to the poor condition of African-Canadian education in the early twentieth century.

Through de facto segregation, whites also demonstrated that blacks were not welcome in Canada. White Canadians segregated blacks in public accommodations and the military during the twentieth century. In a similar manner, white Canadians segregated blacks in education as well. Whites made it clear to provincial education officials that they did not want their children going to school with blacks.

Between 1896 and 1954, legal and social segregation in the United States and Canada resulted in the creation of poor quality educational systems for blacks in both countries. As this chapter has shown there was an agenda common to both nations to reinforce the idea that blacks were inferior to whites, and therefore, blacks should never be allowed to meet with whites on terms of social equality. This agenda had profound implications on the educational curriculum for blacks as we shall see.

NOTES

[1]Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), 70.

[2]C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), 98.

[3]Charles S. Magnum Jr., The Legal Status of the Negro (Chapel Hill: Univ. Of North Carolina Press, 1940), 57.

[4]Ibid., 79.

[5]James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1988), 188-92.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., 192

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid., 193.

[11]Ibid., 192-3. The Southern cities with no African-American high schools in 1915 were Mobile, Montgomery, Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon, Savannah, New Orleans, Charleston, Columbia, Newport News, Portsmouth, Roanoke, Tampa, Pensacola, Jacksonville, Meridian, Jackson, and Vicksburg.

[12]"No Accredited Negro High Schools in Alabama," Birmingham Reporter, 29 January, 1927.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Chas H. Thompson, "The Federal Program of Vocational Education in Negro Schools of Less than College Grade," Journal of Negro Education, Yearbook 7, (1938): 303.

[15]Ibid., 304-5.

[16]Ibid., 303-4.

[17]Ibid.

[18]"School in Stable With Horse Lot for Playground is Found in State by N.B. Young, School Inspector," Missouri Call, 2 September, 1928.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Dorothy Orr, History of Education in Georgia (Chapel Hill: The Univ. Of North Carolina Press, 1950), 332-3.

[21]Ibid.

[22]J. Donald Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West," chap. in Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970), 232-3.

[23]The Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1923, I, 373.

[24]James W. St. G. Walker, Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, Historical Booklet No. 41, 1985), 14.

[25]Ibid., 4.

[26]The Immigration Act and Regulations, 1921, par. 38; Walker, 4-15.

[27]Don Moore, Don Moore: An Autobiography (Toronto: Williams-Wallace Publishers, 1984), 15; Also see chapter Four, "Segregated Schools and Financial Hardship" for a more extensive discussion about the teaching situation in African-Canadian schools.

[28]Ida C. Greaves, National Problems of Canada: The Negro in Canada (Orillia: Packet-Times Press, 1931), 68.

[29]House of Assembly, Journals and Proceedings, 1918, Part 1, Appendix No. 5, 66. Permissive licences were temporary licenses given by provincial school boards until an individual was fully qualified to teach. People who held permissives were not fully qualified teachers.

[30]Legislative Assembly, Report of Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers, 25 September, 1919, 6.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid., 12.

[33]Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada (Montreal, London & New Haven: McGill-Queen's and Yale University Press, 1971), 380.

[34]W. E. B. Du Bois, The Souls of Black Folk, in Three Negro Classics, with an Introduction by John Hope Franklin, (New York: Avon Books, 1965), 322.

[35]Woodward, 100-1.

[36]Bullock, 154-5.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Donald L. Grant, The Way it Was in the South (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1993), 217-18.

[40]Ibid., 218.

[41]Ida B. Wells, Crusade For Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells, ed. Alfreda M. Duster, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 47-48; 50-52; 84; 383.

[42]W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Year's Lynching and Mob Murders 1917", Crisis, Feb. 1918.

[43]"Seven Indicted in Scott's Lynching", Atlanta Courier Journal, 7 Feb., 1934.

[44]"Leaders are Sought in Double Lynching", Atlanta Journal, 6 June, 1934.

[45]Anderson, 82.

[46]Ibid., 85.

[47]Ibid., 92.

[48]Grant, 234.

[49]Ibid., 235.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Carol Talbot, Growing Up Black in Canada (Toronto: Williams-Wallace Publishers, 1984), 68-9.

[52]Harry Gairey, A Black Man's Toronto 1914-1980 (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), 9.

[53]Moore, 27.

[54]Calvin W. Ruck, Canada's Black Battalion (Halifax, N.S.: The Society for the Protection and Preservation of Black Culture in Nova Scotia, 1986), 6.

[55]Walker, 15.

[56]Canada's founding document as a nation was the British North America Act of 1867. Decisions made by the legislature up until 1982, the year of Canada's repatriation, had to be authorized by the British monarchy as represented by the governor-general of Canada.

[57]Ruck, 12.

[58]Ibid., 14.

[59]Ibid., 15.

[60]This last statement demonstrates Gwatkin's belief that a white military unit was the best thing for the Canadian army. Segregation, for Gwatkin, was the best policy that the military could adopt.

[61]Ruck, 19.

[62]Ibid., 24.

[63]R. Bruce Shepard, Deemed Unsuitable (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1997), 107.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ibid.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid., 110.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid., 111.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

The Effect of Industrial Education on African-American and African-Canadian Schools 1896-1954

> Now I have been asked what becomes of our students when they graduate. I shall not attempt to answer that question in detail this afternoon, except to say that we have followed their history closely, and, so far as we know, not a single graduate of this Institution has ever entered a State Penitentiary or the United States Congress.[1]
>
> Booker T. Washington,
> "A Speech at Tuskegee Institute"
> (21 May 1902)

The poor quality of liberal arts education that blacks in the United States and Canada received during the first half of the twentieth century was partly perpetuated by the industrial education program. Although industrial education cannot be blamed entirely as the cause of blacks' poor educational system, industrial education contributed significantly to this situation. Industrial education contributed to the poor education received by blacks by helping to maintain the societal status quo in the South as well as promoting segregated education. The evidence suggests that graduates of industrial education schools spent their careers in so-called "Negro jobs," occupations traditionally held by blacks that were low-paying and

required little or no skill whatsoever. The discussion that follows is not meant as an indictment of Booker T. Washington or of industrial education programs. Rather, it proposes to examine Washington's industrial education program and to show how it affected the nature of black education both in the United States and in Canada. This chapter will explore the conditions of the industrial education program with particular emphasis on its consequences for African-American and African-Canadian education in the liberal arts.

To begin our examination of Washington and his program, it is helpful to first discuss some aspects of his background. Booker Taliaferro Washington was born into slavery on James Burrough's farm near Hale Ford, Virginia, probably in the spring of 1856. Washington knew neither his birthday nor the name of his father.[2]

Moving with his family to West Virginia, Washington worked in the salt furnaces and coal mines as a child laborer. From 1872-1875, Washington walked 500 miles to Hampton Institute where he learned the school's principles of self-reliance and industry under General Samuel Chapman Armstrong. As a student at Hampton, Washington's principal job was one as a janitor. After graduating from Hampton and making brief attempts to study law and religion in Washington, D.C., he returned to teach at Hampton.[3] In

1881, Booker T. Washington became principal and founder of Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama.[4]

There is ample evidence that indicates that Washington had a tremendous political and social influence among whites and blacks alike. Washington's influence among both groups tended to be among wealthy or influential men of power. Washington used his charisma, eloquence, and position as head of Tuskegee to achieve his objectives. During the 1896 presidential campaign, representatives of two candidates for the Republican nomination for President asked for Washington's endorsement. Washington wrote to William B. Allison, the office seeker with the best reputation for racial liberalism, that "I am doing in a rather quiet way whatever I can in connection with our mutual friend, Mr. Clarkson, to bring about your nomination." Washington hoped that his political support would persuade Allison "to do the right thing in connection with the interests of the race to which I belong."[5]

Washington was such a charismatic person that sometimes he did not have to do much persuading to gain significant influence in the black community. Washington's influence was exhibited in 1900 when he developed the National Negro Business League. This organization provided Washington with a cadre of loyal and conservative followers in every city with a large black population. In August 1900, at the first

annual meeting of the National Negro Business League in Boston, an impressive crowd of 300 businessmen gathered in support of president Booker T. Washington. Most of the members at this meeting were businessmen but there were also doctors, lawyers, editors, and other professional black people present.[6] The sheer size of the National Negro Business League meeting was an illustration of Washington's considerable influence during the early twentieth century.

Although Washington had a significant following, he was not without his critics. In particular, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois severely criticized Washington and his program for racial uplift. In his book, Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois argued that Booker T. Washington asked black people to give up the struggle for three things: political power, insistence on civil rights, and higher education of black youth.[7]

According to Du Bois, Washington urged blacks to focus on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and conciliation with Southern whites. The consequences of this policy, Du Bois argued, resulted in the disfranchisement of blacks, the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for blacks, and the steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of blacks. Although Du Bois did not attribute these consequences to the "direct results of Mr. Washington's teachings," he

maintained that Washington's propaganda "helped their speedier accomplishment."[8]

Du Bois' criticisms of Washington must be examined carefully since his educational philosophy was diametrically opposite to that of Washington. For instance, Du Bois was an integrationist during the early twentieth century. Washington, on the other hand, advocated the social and political separation of the races until blacks achieved social and political rights through business and vocational training. Washington believed that black people could achieve productivity, economic success, and moral character through vocational training that would teach them to work with their hands on the farms and in the trades. Washington's message to African-Americans was that through hard work they would have to prove that they were qualified for civil rights.[9]

The major difference between the ideologies of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois was in connection with their philosophies on education. While Du Bois suggested a plan centered around a cultured brain trust ("the talented tenth") to lead the race forward, Booker T. Washington, in contrast, emphasized the importance of industrial education for the masses and repudiated "abstract knowledge." Ironically, both men relied on white philanthropists for the financial support of their programs. A great many whites,

especially those who supported Washington, poured money into black schools that promoted the program of industrial education as opposed to promoting liberal arts.

Billionaire business magnate Andrew Carnegie made numerous gifts to Tuskegee, including a personal donation of $600,000. Carnegie set aside the interest from this sum to provide for Washington's security for the rest of his natural life. Carnegie made such elaborate donations to Tuskegee after he was impressed by the work of the school. In particular, he was awed by the fact that Tuskegee Institute had built a Carnegie library for $15,000, a whole $5,000 cheaper than Carnegie had donated for the library. After the construction of the Carnegie library at Tuskegee, Andrew Carnegie remained a close friend of Booker T. Washington.[10] Hence, while Du Bois watched some African-American institutions such as Atlanta University gasping for air due to a lack of philanthropic contributions, Washington and his supporters enjoyed prosperity and a substantial influence.[11]

The fact that Booker T. Washington had a significant amount of support in the African-American community enhanced his reputation as race leader. After his famous Atlanta Cotton Exposition address in 1895, Washington developed the Tuskegee Machine, a nation-wide, close-knit group of institutions in the African-American community controlled,

dominated, or strongly influenced by Booker T. Washington. Washington exerted his influence among African-American people partly because he had money and approval from influential whites. Whites also admired Washington because of his sheer determination and strong will, and because he promoted racial self-help programs.[12] In short order, the Tuskegee Machine became very formidable because it was supported by wealthy white philanthropists, large amounts of capital, large sections of the African-American press, a cadre of African-American educators in small industrial schools, and many powerful white politicians.[13]

Washington, with such powerful forces behind him, began the twentieth century with the intention of discrediting his opposition and of unifying the African-American race behind the industrial education program. In 1905, in opposition to Washington's agenda, twenty-nine African-American leaders created the Niagara movement. Out of this movement grew the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). By 1909 the NAACP had emerged as a protest group with the long range objective of full citizenship rights for African-Americans and equality with whites. While Northern philanthropists received the Niagara Movement with quiet disapproval, Washington did not. Although he was silent publicly, in private he ordered his assistant to "Telegraph

. . . newspaper men you can absolutely trust to ignore [the] Niagara movement."[14]

Washington's white allies thought that the members of the Niagara Movement were a bunch of jealous sore heads envious of a great man (Washington) and that no understanding with them was possible. W. E. B. Du Bois asserted that the members of the movement "set forth a strong perhaps even bitter indictment" of Washington's program. Du Bois also wrote that Washington and his supporters "proceeded to organize a campaign completely to crush us. We were pictured as agitators and jail birds ashamed of our race and anxious to marry white women."[15]

Research reveals the true nature of the Tuskegee program as well as its effect on African-American education. Louis R. Harlan has written several books about Booker T. Washington and has become the eminent scholar on "The Wizard of Tuskegee," as Washington was sometimes sobriqueted. Harlan says that in its early years, Tuskegee's primary function was as a normal school for training elementary school teachers. However, Washington's true intention was to teach regular courses in the skilled trades and make Tuskegee a haven for practical learning and black self-help. In the academic year 1883-1884, the industrial courses offered by the institution included farming, brick-making,

carpentering, printing, blacksmithing, housekeeping, and sewing for girls.[16]

Washington's promotion of self-help was not only evident in the Tuskegee curriculum, but also in his writings and speeches. In 1895, he gave his famous Atlanta Exposition address to an audience of both whites and African-Americans. One of the themes of his speech emphasized that: "No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top." To whites, Washington explained: "In all things that are purely social, we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[17] Furthermore, regarding social equality, Washington explained:

> The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.[18]

Washington's ideology of self-help stressed self-improvement through education, hard work, and economic self-sufficiency. Washington also indicated the importance of self-help in his autobiography, Up From Slavery:

> In our industrial teaching we keep three things in mind: first, that he[19] shall be so educated that he shall be enabled to meet the conditions as they exist now, in the part of the South where he lives—in a word, to be able to do the thing which the world wants done;

> second, that every student who graduates from the school shall have enough skill, coupled with intelligence and moral character, to enable him to make a living for himself and others; third, to send every graduate out feeling and knowing that labor is dignified and beautiful--to make each one love labor instead of trying to escape it. In addition to the agricultural training we give to young men, and the training given to our girls in all the usual domestic employments, we now train a number of girls in agriculture each year. These girls are taught gardening, fruit-growing, dairying, bee-culture, and poultry-raising.[20]

What Washington's self-help program implied was gradual political rights for African-Americans. African-Americans were obligated to prove themselves worthy of such rights through hard work, education and economic self-sufficiency. Washington argued that African-Americans would not obtain political rights from "artificial forcing" but rather from Southern whites themselves. Furthermore, Washington believed that African-Americans should modestly disregard the fight for political rights and depend more on the slow influences that would accrue from African-American possession of property, intelligence, and high character. The possession of these items, Washington argued, would eventually lead to whites recognizing African-American political rights.[21]

Despite Washington's intentions, however, many Southern whites used industrial education as a means of socialization and control of the African-American populace in the South. Whites in the region interpreted industrial education to

mean the maintenance of racial separation and manual training for African-Americans. Many whites favored industrial education for African-Americans because they viewed them as an integral part of the Southern economy and a cheap source of labor for Southern industries. As a result, schools that emphasized industrial education like Tuskegee educated their students with manual skills during a period when new machinery and techniques of mass production were displacing such skills.[22]

The ideology and structure of industrial education failed to consider the new trends of the American economy. The industrial education curriculum as it was designed and implemented at black schools did not include the new skills and techniques created by the industrial revolution. By the early twentieth century, Hampton, Tuskegee, and the land-grant colleges emphasized training for a pre-industrial agricultural economy which was in decline. These schools taught courses in the manual arts such as broom and mattress making, blacksmithing, and hand laundering. At the same time, an entire system of manufacturing that required machinists and highly skilled laborers was already being implemented in American society.[23]

For the most part, the thrust of industrial education did not challenge employment discrimination against African-Americans; instead it encouraged the preservation of the

racist status quo in the South. This was because industrial education trained African-Americans in skills which did not compete with or threaten occupations of whites. An examination of the Atlanta, Georgia, Board of Education's report between 1901 and 1903 reveals the tremendous push of white school boards to make African-Americans efficient workmen and laborers:

> Our Negro schools are as yet without any help in this line of [industrial] education. From those attending these schools are coming the masses of our workmen and laborers. Our industrial conditions require that they should be capable of doing the work of their calling or trade in an efficient manner. This cannot be without the educational facilities afforded by this department. All around us we see efforts of private philanthropic institutions yielding gratifying results. But these cannot care for all. There is a part that only the public schools can reach and educate. Until provision is made for them, the city government is falling short of its duty to them and to Southern industries. Manual training and the rudiments of the domestic arts properly taught in the Negro schools would be an economical investment for the city in the consequent saving in policemen and police courts.[24]

It is revealing to notice the word "investment" in the above quotation. It seems clear that the Atlanta Board of Education believed that industrial education was a significant means of sustaining the African-American as a source of cheap labor for white industries.

The desire by Southern whites to use industrial education schools as a source of cheap African-American labor was nowhere as evident as in the case of Fort Valley High School. Louis Harlan points out that the Peabody and

Slater Funds appropriated money for African-American education only to schools which conformed to Southern white insistence on "industrial education for the subject race."[25] Similarly, at Fort Valley, philanthropists only supported trustees who believed in the educational philosophy of industrial education.

In 1890, Atlanta University graduate John W. Davison started the Fort Valley High and Industrial School. Originally introduced as a private school, Fort Valley was chartered as a public normal and industrial school in 1895. The school developed out of a humble beginning. Fort Valley High was a small building situated on four acres of land valued at $800, with a mortgage of $1000. The school had just two teachers and enrolled one hundred students for a four-month-term. Funding was a problem for Fort Valley High from its inception. Neither public nor private organizations funded the school. Consequently, funding for the school came from Davison himself, the African-American community, and wealthy white philanthropists in the North.[26]

Northern philanthropists were skeptical about Fort Valley's commitment to industrial education from the school's inception. Usually when philanthropists discovered that their donations were not being used to finance industrial education, they stopped funding the "offending" institution. This was precisely what happened to Fort

Valley because Principal Davison was committed to an academic, and not an industrial curriculum. Consequently, the philanthropists saw to it that Davison was dismissed because of his failure to model the Fort Valley curriculum after Tuskegee.[27]

Philanthropists wanted African-American trustees, teachers, and students who were committed to the program of industrial education. Consequently, the philanthropists ousted Principal Davison and hired a new principal, Henry Alexander Hunt. Hunt was recommended by philanthropist George Foster Peabody to be principal of Fort Valley. Peabody believed that Hunt was an excellent candidate for the position because of his impressive credentials. Not only was Hunt the business manager and Director of Trades at Biddle University, but he was also head of the Biddle University Industrial and Boarding departments.[28]

More importantly, in contrast to Davison, Hunt emphasized a program of simple agricultural and domestic training. Although Hunt's program was favored by the philanthropists, Fort Valley trustees and teachers opposed Hunt's agenda. When W. T. B. Williams, an African-American school inspector for the General Education Board, examined staff relations at Fort Valley in 1906, he discovered some "very positive opposition to Mr. Hunt" among "the African-

American trustees and some of the younger male teachers of the school.[29]

The changes in personnel at Fort Valley impacted its students significantly. Since Fort Valley's conception in 1890, African-American students went to Fort Valley mainly to obtain a liberal arts education. African-American students at Fort Valley made it clear from the beginning of that they were not interested in studying industrial education. Davison noted that only through "persistent effort" could he persuade Fort Valley students to study such industrial education subjects as manual labor, practical farming, and gardening.[30]

Principal Hunt was determined to dismiss African-American teachers opposed to the program of industrial education. When in 1906 W. T. B. Williams was hired by philanthropists to examine Fort Valley and make a report, his report noted that three male teachers of the school opposed the new program of industrial education. Williams described these teachers as "young fellows and fully conscious of their own importance" who could not "lose themselves in their own work and forget about their rights, restrictions, and the like."[31]

By 1910, it seemed that Hunt's determination had paid off. That year, there were almost no traces of Davison's staff left and Fort Valley had new African-American

trustees, teachers, and students. More importantly, the new Fort Valley High under Principal Hunt offered industrial education to about 500 African-American students yearly. In 1914, W. T. B. Williams investigated Fort Valley again for the General Education Board. Upon this second inspection, Williams found Hunt operating "the most thorough-going industrial school in Georgia." The case of Fort Valley demonstrates that philanthropists and their allies went to great lengths to make African-American high schools teach industrial education and to produce teachers for the African-American schools.[32]

In furtherance of the industrial education model, Northern philanthropists set up the county training school in states across the South. Beginning in 1911, the General Education Board, the John F. Slater Fund, and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund promoted industrial education in African-American rural schools. This promotion occurred through state departments of education and through the preparation of teachers in county training schools.[33]

The State Superintendent of Negro Rural Schools was responsible for defining the county training schools at the local level, selecting suitable locations for the schools, planning the courses of study, and hiring industrial teachers and principals. The state supervisor for Alabama, James L. Sibley, noted that the purpose of the county

training school was threefold: "To give definite instruction in home economics to girls, in agriculture to boys; and in teacher training to both."[34]

Philanthropic organizations intended the county training school to be an industrial boarding school that was centrally located in the counties of Southern states. Philanthropists also wanted the county training school to operate seven elementary grades and three years of secondary and normal school courses to train industrial teachers. After industrial teachers were trained in the county training school, philanthropists expected them to teach industrial education in the smaller rural schools.[35]

The large majority of county training schools were located in rural areas where the African-American population tended to be dense. Practically all the training schools offered instructional and laboratory facilities in the agricultural, industrial, and domestic sciences. This instruction was offered to both adults and students residing in the county. An example of a typical county training school location was Warren County Training School in Wise, North Carolina. Wise had a total population of 23,000 of whom 15,000 were African-American. Another example was Spotsylvania County Training School in Snell, Virginia, which had a population of 10,000 including 3,000 African-Americans.[36]

The central focus of the county training school was the industrial education program. Students at county training schools used farmers' equipment in their daily studies. As a result, mathematics was replaced by exercises in bookkeeping related to farming and farm implements. World geography and history were substituted with a study of the local environment.[37] Subjects useful to African-Americans in pursuit higher education were replaced by education in outdated manual labor jobs.

Many African-Americans in rural areas opposed these curriculum changes. Like the urban industrial school supervisors, the state supervisors of county training schools encountered opposition from rural African-American principals and teachers. Philanthropists and their agents, to combat black opposition to county training schools, publicly claimed that such schools were established because of a great demand from the Southern African-American rural community.[38]

The philanthropists also stated that they provided money to support county training schools unconditionally, and that each county could determine its own curriculum. These public statements were outright lies. In 1913, Leo Favrot[39] stated privately that staunch opposition from rural African-American teachers made it very difficult to

establish industrial education in the rural African-American schools of Arkansas.[40]

State supervisors encountered opposition from rural black principals and teachers from the outset. John A. Presson, state supervisor of Arkansas in 1917, visited the state's black colleges and noticed that three schools in particular, Philander Smith, Arkansas Baptist, and Shorter, were "not equipped at all, for teaching industrial subjects." Additionally, noted Presson, "They seemed to pride themselves on their academic work, and take great credit to themselves for work offered in traditional courses, such as are given by leading colleges of the country."[41]

In a New York city meeting, Southern State supervisors met in March 1916 to construct a uniform course of study for the county training schools. This conference resulted in the appointment of state supervisors Leo Favrot and Jackson Davis to write a course guide for the county training schools. This guide was published in 1917 under the title of Suggested Course for County Training Schools.[42]

The guide was more than suggestive though because county training schools were expected to follow the guide and state supervisors were responsible for enforcing it. The course booklet outlined the Tuskegee industrial education program as a way to acquire knowledge of the three

R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic), and a lot of simple industrial and agricultural labor. Academic subjects were limited to public school courses that allowed a county school student to obtain a first grade teacher's license, but nothing more.[43]

In addition to training African-Americans to become cheap sources of labor for white-owned industries, some whites used industrial education to promote segregation. For example, in 1925, the racist Anglo-Saxon Club of Richmond, Virginia, complained that the conditions at Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia, needed to be changed. The Club questioned the white principal of Hampton, Dr. James E. Gregg about four issues. They wanted to know if white and colored met on terms of 'social equality'; and if, on occasion, white and colored teachers sat at the same table. The Club also inquired whether the races sat side by side in the school auditorium and if the students at Hampton learned that "Negroes" were equal to whites. The leaders of the Club felt that these conditions, if true were unacceptable and important enough "to threaten serious consequences to the institute and to all white America."[44]

W. S. Copeland, the editor of the Newport Daily Press in Virginia, started the whole controversy at Hampton Institute by publishing an editorial which referred to both

races sitting together in the school auditorium. Copeland also noted that Hampton was the 'richest institution in Virginia' with millions of dollars flowing into the school's endowment fund. According to Copeland, Hampton also had the best equipment in the state, including an auditorium, which other schools could not afford.[45] In response to tremendous pressure, Dr. Gregg was forced to convince the whites of Richmond that Hampton was not promoting "amalgamation" or a mixing of the races:

> To the best of my knowledge, for the past fifty years--there has never been encouragement of the social mingling of the races under circumstances that would lead to embarrassment on either side. It should hardly be necessary to add that association of a romantic nature, such as could conceivably lead to intermarriage, is contrary to the wishes and the judgment of the overwhelmingly majority of Negroes as of white persons.[46]

The use of industrial education by some white communities to maintain the system of segregation was also apparent in the city of Little Rock, Arkansas, in the late 1920s. In 1928, officers of the Rosenwald Fund agreed to construct an urban black high school in Little Rock to promote industrial education. Little Rock school officials were not happy about the prospect of a new black high school, so they undermined the Rosenwald Fund's project in Little Rock. Instead of using the Rosenwald's Fund's money to build a new black high school, Little Rock school

officials used Rosenwald funding to finance segregated schooling in Little Rock.[47]

Evidence of Little Rock school officials' intentions were indicated in the fall of 1929, when Little Rock's new black high school opened. The local African-American community took an active role in the development of the new school and defeated the Little Rock school officials' efforts to name the school Negro Industrial High. The school was named Paul Lawrence Dunbar High School.[48]

Most of Dunbar's students studied industrial education subjects in 1930. Of the institution's 1,163 junior high and secondary students, 95 percent were enrolled in industrial courses. Most of the females at Dunbar studied sewing, home making and laundry. Nearly all of the male students studied manual arts, bricklaying, carpentry and auto mechanics. It is significant to note that no classes were offered in sheet metal work, electrical work, plumbing, or printing, jobs traditionally held by whites in the state.[49]

Therefore, the occupational training offered by Dunbar was consistent with the domestic service, cooking, serving, laundry, and industrial helper jobs traditionally held by Little Rock's African-American community.[50] It appears then that Dunbar's curriculum maintained the low socio-economic position of African-Americans in Little Rock. Rather than

train students to become skilled workers, Dunbar trained them to do "Negro jobs."

In 1930, the Rosenwald Fund continued its attempts to promote industrial education by granting the enormous sum of $125,000 to build a black industrial high school in New Orleans. As in the case of Little Rock, the local school board in New Orleans impeded the Rosenwald Fund's project to build a black high school in that city. By late 1930, the Rosenwald philanthropists were ready to build the school, but the racially-biased Orleans Parish School Board objected. At a School Board meeting in February 1930, one member, August Schabel, opposed the construction of the school because it would result in "all the Negroes in the entire state coming to New Orleans." Fellow board member Isaac Heller reassured Schabel that the new industrial high school was intended to maintain the status quo of segregation in New Orleans:

> The establishment of this school does not in any way contemplate educating these Negroes in the trade school in trades that will in any way affect the white labor or deprive the white men of their positions, and that it is not the intention of this Board to increase friction between the races or competition between the races. It is rather to educate the Negroes that are best qualified, and under no circumstances to educate them to compete with white labor in this city.[51]

Other board members such as Henry O. Schaumburg and Philip G. Ricks agreed with Heller's position. "I believe," said

Ricks, "there is a need in this community for a Negro trade school . . . for colored boys and for colored girls . . . to make them housekeepers, maids, cooks, printers, gardeners, mechanics, yard boys."[52]

In spite of these reassurances, Rosenwald representatives could not persuade New Orleans school officials to build an African-American high school. School officials did not see the point in spending $400,000 to construct a high school to train African-American youth for "Negro jobs" because they had already accomplished this goal without expending large amounts of money. So, the philanthropists eventually became isolated as the sole supporters of the proposed industrial high school. In the meantime, local white Southerners' attitudes ranged from indifferent to outright resistant.[53]

In September 1931, Rosenwald agent Edwin Embree wrote: "It seems to us that the [New Orleans] school officials are so indifferent, if not positively obstructive, that there is little likelihood of real success." So at the end of that year, the Rosenwald Fund withdrew from its New Orleans campaign. The Fund's attempt to build a black industrial high school in that city failed.[54]

As illustrated by the discussions of industrial education in New Orleans, Little Rock, and Fort Valley, many Southern whites favored simple agricultural and manual

training as a form of second-class education for African-Americans. This was despite the fact that Booker T. Washington, a proponent of industrial education, favored the infusion of academic courses into vocational training and the learning of other trades. For example, in mathematics a student of carpentry would be asked to determine which common length of board would be adequate for a given job with a minimum amount of waste. A girl learning how to make a dress would be required to state the smallest number of yards of cloth required to make dresses of several sizes. Thus, subjects such as gardening and carpentry were emphasized at Tuskegee as well as grammar and arithmetic.[55]

While Northern philanthropists supported industrial training for African-Americans for their own reasons, the Southern states made little effort to provide public support for the training of African-American teachers. At the same time, the yearly output of graduates from high schools, normal schools, and land-grant colleges was much less than the annual increase in new classrooms that the African-American public schools had. As a result, many African-American schools were overcrowded. Furthermore, not all of the African-American graduates wanted to teach after completion of their studies, and subsequently, there was a lack of teachers for African-American schools.[56]

Even though there were a lack of teachers for African-American schools, most school-aged African-Americans in the South were not enrolled in high schools during the 1930s. While 54 percent of Southern white children of high school age were enrolled in public high schools by the mid-1930s, only about two of every ten African-American children of high school age attended secondary institutions. From 1933-1934, out of the 847,163 African-Americans of high school age, only 152,310 of them were enrolled in high schools. This number represented only 18 percent of the South's African-American, high school-aged population.[57] This trend continued throughout the decade.

Those African-Americans who were enrolled in high schools had a limited amount of courses to choose from compared to the choices available to white children. In 1938, it was revealed that African-Americans had few opportunities to select courses in trades and industries. There was a deliberate policy in the South to provide African-Americans with as little training in the skilled trades as possible. White students had a much wider range of subjects, including those subjects specifically aimed toward carrying a student into higher levels of education.[58]

The effect of industrial education on African-Canadians during the same period bore striking similarities to the African-American experience. While the evidence is not as

abundant as in the case of the Southern United States, research suggests that African-Canadians also suffered because of the imposition of industrial education. African-Canadian children were trained in subjects which provided them with outdated skills. As in the case of their African-American counterparts, this industrial education prepared many African-Canadians for a life of humdrum employment in unskilled and domestic work.

Like their African-American counterparts, some African-Canadians generally embraced Washington's program of self-help and separate education well into the 1950s. However there was widespread debate among black Canadians about the suitability of industrial education for their children. In some provinces, such as Nova Scotia, African-Canadians convinced themselves that they would have greater opportunities through a separate school system. For the most part though, African-Canadians across Canada were ill-organized and divided into groups which often bickered about the appropriate type of schooling for African-Canadian children.[59]

The situation of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children (NSHCC) is a case in point. Between World War I and World War II, the three foremost leaders of the Nova Scotia African-Canadian community were members of the Baptist Church. The most influential of these three

leaders, James A. P. Kinney, was the main advocate of Booker T. Washington's philosophy in that province. Kinney was born in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1878. The first black graduate of the Maritime Business College, he initially worked from within the Cornwallis Street Church, where he was openly critical of nonactivists and became the chief spokesperson for black racial pride.[60]

In 1921, Kinney withdrew from the church to devote his time to the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children in Halifax. This self-help school and orphanage opened in June after he persuaded the provincial government to purchase 211 acres for a farm and to provide money for a building. Kinney drew support mainly from other blacks in the province who supported industrial schooling. He was an officer and superintendent of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children until his death in 1940.[61]

Kinney and his followers were advocates of the Booker T. Washington philosophy of education. They believed in the ideology of self-help and separation from whites until they were able, through education, to compete on equal terms with whites. However, a smaller group of blacks of the Baptist faith felt that this policy was too secular and criticized Kinney for insisting that the Nova Scotia home should be interdenominational.[62]

Another group argued, as one member remarked in 1918 after hearing Kinney give a public address on "The Negro and His Accomplishments," that self-praise and self-segregation were ill-calculated to break down racial barriers. This statement was accurate because the white community of Halifax happily retained unmixed orphan homes, while the NSHCC continued into the 1960s long after African-Canadians should have been prepared to demand full admission to other provincial-supported schools.[63]

In 1946, the province of Nova Scotia opened a division of adult education within its Department of Education. Guy Henson, a white Dalhousie University graduate, was appointed director. Henson also received help from an African-Canadian, Reverend William P. Oliver. They began the division by adding a course in home economics at three black schools and the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. Between 1945 and 1950 the Nova Scotia government built five new schools in African-Canadian areas. These schools offered such courses as community recreation, shop, agriculture, health, and elementary education.[64]

By 1949, the future of black industrial education in Nova Scotia looked promising. That year, Reverend Oliver had several ideas to expand the industrial education program of blacks in the province. One proposal was to establish teacherages (dormitory apartments) near remote African-

Canadian schools. This would provide accommodation for African-Canadian educators, rather than have them reside with local families, the common practice at that time.[65]

In 1954, the Nova Scotia Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NSAACP), local churches, the Halifax County school board, and the provincial government provided funds to allow the registrar of Hampton Institute, Dr. William M. Cooper, to study the situation of industrial education in Nova Scotia.[66]

A Nova Scotia provincial school report in 1954 outlined the results of Dr. Cooper's visit:

> Dr. William Cooper, registrar of Hampton Institute, Virginia, and vice-president of the Adult Education Association of the United States, was invited to visit the province for a ten-day period during the month of May. While in the province, Dr. Cooper observed the various phases of the educational program among colored people, as well as addressing service clubs, ministerial groups, and school children. Upon his return to Virginia, three significant reports were submitted, suggesting positive courses of action for the next few years. One of the items of first concern in the Cooper report was the New Road community and some progress has already been made toward improving the situation there.[67]

For a while, several events made it seem like the New Road project would be successful. In 1956, a province-wide appeal was made for funds to build a teacherage at New Road, a black township. A total of $2,200 was raised, and by the end of the decade, New Road had its teacherage, eight teachers, a Home and School Association and 280 students. A

Hampton graduate, Frizzell Jones, became principal of the school.[68]

However, after this short-lived success, it became apparent that the New Road project was headed for disaster. Impoverished New Road taxpayers could not support a school in their area, nor did many residents care to have a school at all. Furthermore, neither the province of Nova Scotia, nor the city of Halifax provided the funds to support the school. Thus, the New Road project ended up being a failure.[69]

While the New Road project was still-born, oral histories from several African-Canadian women suggests that industrial education would not have helped Canadian blacks social position anyway because of racism. Skilled labor occupations were generally closed to African-Canadians during the first half of the twentieth century, and so were the educational courses that led to such occupations. For example, Eleanor Hayes, an African-Canadian, grew up during the early twentieth century. During here high school years in the 1940s, she noted that African-Canadian girls who wanted to take commercial courses or secretarial courses were not encouraged to do so by white teachers because businesses would not hire African-Canadians. The only job openings were in garment factories or knitting mills.[70]

Similarly, many African-Canadian males could not get into skilled trades because membership in one of the trade unions was a requirement to be hired. The problem was that many unions refused to accept African-Canadian tradesmen as members.[71] In contrast, while unions, factories, and schools refused to accept black Canadians in the skilled trades, whites welcomed African-Canadians, particularly women, in domestic and unskilled labor. Violet Blackman, another African-Canadian, briefly described her situation as a domestic worker in 1920s Toronto:

> You couldn't get any position, regardless who you were and how educated you were, other than housework because even if the employer would employ you, those that you had to work with would not work with you.[72]

Similarly, Bee Allen also expressed the fact that whites selected African-Canadian women for domestic work in Toronto:

> In service situations I always asked, 'Do you hire coloured?' because I did not have financial means to go running up to some place up in Rosedale from where I lived and be turned down when I got to the door. . . . Sometimes they would say, 'Well, I'm sorry.' Other times I would phone and they would say, 'Well are you dark?' and I would say 'Well, I'm not dark,' and then they might say, 'I'm sorry, the reason I'm asking is because we'd like our coloured help to be unquestionably coloured.' These were domestic jobs; you were going to live in, in many cases, and they did not want to have their friends or relatives wondering at you.[73]

An examination of the 1919 salaries for various occupations in Canada as shown in Table 1 reveals that as a domestic servant or unskilled laborer, one was at the bottom of the

occupational ladder. Notice that "unskilled labor" was not even on the list of professions, while "skilled trades" was at the top of the record. Although there may be various reasons for this situation, it is clear that a skilled trade was a more desirable occupation than an unskilled job.

While there was a demand for graduates of industrial education by Canadian industries, the demand was particularly for skilled labor, rather than unskilled labor. An examination of the published opinion of the Canada Cycle and Motor Company reveals the importance that some companies placed on having skilled workers:

TABLE 1

SALARIES FOR VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS IN CANADA, 1919

Professions	Variable	
Skilled Trades	$1500.00	
Male Clerks	$1200.00	
Nurses	$1000.00	
Stenographers	$950.00	
Dressmakers and milliners	$925.00	
Female Clerks in shops	$900.00	
Telephone Operators (three years experience)	$810.00	(870.00 in cities)
Teachers outside of cities (for half-year ending June 30, 1919)	$791.00	
Domestic Servants	$700.00	

Source: Manitoba, Legislative Assembly, Report of Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers, 1919, 15.

> 1. Our system of apprenticeship is rather limited. It applies only in machine departments. The apprenticeship period is four years. The apprentice receives a small wage for the first year, which increased each year of his apprenticeship. He is given facilities to learn all the machine shop operations that are practiced in our shop.
> 2. The great difficulty at the present time with this system is, that very few young men are taking an apprenticeship, and out of those that do commence, a great many drop out before they have finished their course, with the result that they become only fair workmen and not, by any means, skilled. It seems necessary to devise some method of education for those entering industrial life, so that they can obtain such training as will fit them to become skilled workmen in a shorter period of time than the old apprenticeship system.[74]

It must be noted though that African-Canadians, like workers everywhere, were at the mercy of the employer. If an employer did not want to hire an African-Canadian because of their skin color, there was nothing he or she could do about it. This fact was explained by the Superintendent of Ontario, John Seath, in 1911:

> In all cases, the employer holds the key to the situation. His object is, of course, to have the largest returns for the smallest possible expenditure, and reasonable prospect of advantage to himself he would not employ at intervals young or untrained apprentices; nor, as he naturally aims at as complete specialization as possible, would he be likely to provide at a loss to himself the variety and the sequence of work indispensable in any adequate scheme of trade education.[75]

In sum, the philosophy of industrial education as interpreted by some whites contributed to the inferior quality of education available in the vast majority of African-American and African-Canadian schools. In the

Southern United States, despite Booker T. Washington's good intentions, whites used industrial education as a tool to maintain the societal status quo. During the early decades of the twentieth century, Washington wanted to use industrial education as a means of racial uplift for African-Americans economically, socially, and politically. White Southerners, on the other hand, favored industrial training as a way to maintain African-Americans as second-class citizens.

Also, most advocates of industrial education programs in the South accepted the premise of segregated education. Although it may be argued that these industrial education proponents had no choice but to endorse this education because of de jure and de facto discrimination in the South, W. E. B. Du Bois and others rejected second-class citizenship and industrial education. The NAACP was one collective response to segregation and discrimination. Finally, some of the consequences of the industrial education program were that African-Americans suffered widespread unemployment or employment in low-paying, menial jobs. Most blacks were relegated to jobs as agricultural laborers, janitors, cooks, and maids.

Similarly, in Canada, many African-Canadians who believed that industrial education was an appropriate type of education also ended up in "Negro jobs," particularly in

the provinces of Nova Scotia and Ontario where separate schools tended to be the rule, rather than the exception. Some African-Canadians accepted separate education under the name of self-help as a useful ideology well into the 1960s. The cases of the New Road Township and Adult Education Program of Nova Scotia are examples of the African-Canadian acceptance of the industrial education philosophy.

While industrial education was one factor that contributed to the poor condition of education for African-Americans and African-Canadians, an even more significant factor was the lack of funding experienced by their schools. Without adequate funding, African-Americans and African-Canadians waged an uphill battle in the drive for a decent quality of education. The next chapter will show just how steep that battle was for both groups.

NOTES

[1]Louis R. Harlan, Raymond W. Smock, Barbara S. Kraft, eds., The Booker T. Washington Papers (Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1977), Vol. 6. (1901-2), 468.

[2]Louis R. Harlan, Booker T. Washington: The Making of A Leader (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972), 3.

[3]Deirdre Mullane, ed., Crossing the Danger Water (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 354; Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 215.

[4]Harlan, Making of a Leader, 109.

[5]Ibid., 257.

[6]Ibid., 266-8.

[7]W. E. B. Du Bois, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others", The Souls of Black Folk (1903), quoted in Crossing the Danger Water, 377.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Sue Davis, American Political Thought (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1996), 270-1.

[10]Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 212.

[11]Elliot M. Rudwick, W. E. B. Du Bois: Propagandist of the Negro Protest (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 63-4.

[12]Harlan, Making of A Leader, 254-5.

[13]Louis R. Harlan, Separate and Unequal (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 42-3.

[14]Ibid., 99.

[15]W. E. B. Du Bois, "Social Significance of Washington", 15, [ca. 1920], The Papers of W. E. B. Du Bois, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Robert Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center, Atlanta.

[16]Harlan, Making of A Leader, 139.

[17]Lerone Bennett Jr., Before the Mayflower, Sixth Revised Edition (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 265.

[18]The Booker T. Washington Papers, "The Atlanta Exposition Address", 3:585-6.

[19]The term "he" refers to the Tuskegee student.

[20]Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery, as quoted in Three Negro Classics, with an introduction by John Hope Franklin (New York: Avon Books, 1965), 200.

[21]Ibid., 155-6.

[22]Harlan, Separate, 43.

[23]Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), 185-6.

[24]Georgia, Thirtieth Report of the Board of Education, Atlanta, Georgia, January, 1901 to June 30, 1903, 49.

[25]Harlan, Separate, 7.

[26]James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1988), 115-6.

[27]Ibid., 118.

[28]Ibid., 123-4; 126.

[29]Ibid., 126

[30]Ibid., 128.

[31]Ibid., 128-9.

[32]Ibid., 132.

[33]Edward E. Redcay, County Training Schools and Public Secondary Education for Negroes in the South (Washington, DC: The John F. Slater Fund, 1935), 27-30; Anderson, 137-140.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Anderson, 138.

[36]Redcay, 47-9.

[37]Bullock, 159.

[38]Anderson, 142.

[39]Favrot was state supervisor of schools in Louisiana and he eventually became Regional Director of County Training Schools in 1923. Please see Anderson, 141.

[40]Anderson, 142.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid., 144.

[43]Ibid.

[44]The Tuskegee News Clippings File (TINCF), "Hampton Forced to Fight White Radicals, South", Pittsburgh American, 31 July, 1925.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Anderson, 206.

[48]Ibid., 210.

[49]Ibid., 211.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Ibid., 219.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid., 221.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Bullock, 82-4.

[56]Anderson, 133-136. Also see Chapter Four for an examination of African-American schools' financial difficulties during the period.

[57]Ibid., 235.

[58]Chas H. Thompson, "The Federal Program of Vocational Education in Negro Schools of Less than College Grade," in The Journal of Negro Education, Yearbook 7, 1938, 316.

[59]Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada (Montreal, New Haven & London: McGill-Queen's and Yale Univ. Press,, 1971), 362-363.

[60]Ibid., 349.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Minutes of the 65th Meeting of the African United Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, 1918, 8-13.

[63]Ibid.

[64]Winks, 381-2.

[65]Ibid., 382.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Nova Scotia, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1953-1954, 71.

[68]Winks, 383.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Dionne Brand, "We Weren't Allowed to go into Factory Work" in 'We're Rooted Here and they Can't Pull Us Up' eds., Peggy Bristow, Sylvia Hamilton, Adrienne Shadd, Afua P. Cooper, Dionne Brand, and Linda Carty (Toronto and Buffalo: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1994), 177.

[71]W. A. Spray, The Blacks in New Brunswick (St. Thomas Univ.: Brunswick Press, 1972), 67.

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[73]Ibid., 176.

[74]Ontario, Legislative Assembly, Education for Industrial Purposes: A Report by John Seath (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1911), 358.

[75]Ibid., 293.

CHAPTER THREE

SEGREGATED SCHOOLS AND FINANCIAL HARDSHIP

A common fate that African-American and African-Canadian schools shared from 1896-1954 was a lack of adequate funding. This period was marked by state/provincial and municipal governments that frequently withheld funds from black schools. It was also a period in which African-American teachers were poorly paid and African-Canadian teachers hard to find. Lastly, this era was a time in which black schools suffered from poor facilities. All of these factors combined contributed to the poor condition of black schools in the United States and Canada.

In the United States, state and local governments inadequately funded African-American schools. An examination of the spending habits of several Southern states shows that they disproportionately funded white schools to the detriment of African-American institutions. This disparity in funding also demonstrates the South's rigid support of unequal educational opportunities for blacks. The figures in Table 1 shows that for the 1922-23

school year, South Carolina spent eight times as much for white students as they did on African-American public education. Total educational expenditures for that year were as follows: whites, $8,914,907; African-Americans, $1,119,142. The breakdown of South Carolina's appropriations for white and African-American schools displayed in Table 1 demonstrates the large-scale disparity in funding by that state:

TABLE 2

FUNDING OF SOUTH CAROLINA PUBLIC SCHOOLS BY THE STATE

Facilities	Whites	African-Americans
Grounds, Buildings, Repairs, Rent	$1,970,944	$187,053
Furniture and Apparatus	$188,855	$22,983
Transportation of Pupils	$88,903	$53
Libraries	$1,310	$85

Source: Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) Papers, CIC to South Carolina State Department of Education, 1 December, 1923.

During the same time period, the spending statistics for the state of Florida were more startling than those of South Carolina. In 1923-4, the African-American student population was almost half the size of the white group. Yet, African-Americans only received 6 percent of the appropriations that whites received for buildings, lots, and equipment. This is a clear indication that Florida

discriminated against African-Americans in the area of education. The academic population of white children was 229,405 as compared to 107,525 African-Americans. But African-Americans only received $1,569,767 from the State of Florida for buildings, lots, and equipment, while whites received the large sum of $23,180,317.[1]

An examination of annual expenditures for public schools by individual Southern states for the academic year 1925-6 shows overwhelmingly that the tendency for state governments to spend inequitably in favor of white schools was a common practice at that time.

During that same year, the state of Texas spent a mere 5 percent of its school allotment on African-American schools as it did on white school buildings, although African-Americans comprised almost 18 percent of the entire student population. The total student population for whites was 1,093,986 versus 227,614 for African-Americans. The value of school buildings for whites were, $75,111,044.28 versus $3,979,854.30 for African-American school buildings. The value of equipment for whites was, $8,693,924.15 and $653,614.00 for African-Americans.[2]

In 1925 South Carolina once again demonstrated the injustice of Southern state spending. What is particularly disturbing about their statistics for that year is that

TABLE 3

Average Annual Expenditures per Child of School Age

State	For Whites	For African-Americans
Alabama	$25.57	$3.81
Arkansas	$13.36	$6.48
Florida	$42.01	$7.33
Georgia	$25.48	$5.48
Kentucky	$16.80	$15.40
Louisiana	$33.73	$5.48
Mississippi	$25.95	$5.62
Missouri	$45.32	$29.39
North Carolina	$25.31	$7.52
Oklahoma	$33.08	$21.04
South Carolina	$27.88	$2.74
Tennessee	$21.02	$11.88
Texas	$31.77	$20.24

Source: CIC Papers, M. E. Moffit to CIC, "Annual Expenditures for Public Schools by States," 1926.

although the student populations of African-Americans and whites were almost the same, the spending disparity for those schools were enormous. In 1925, the white student population was 245,619 and the African-American student population was 234,977. While they represented 95 percent of the white population in size, African-Americans received only 12 percent of the funding that whites received for school buildings and equipment.[3] Thus, there is abundant evidence indicating that Southern states disproportionately appropriated state funds in favor of white schools.

While it is a fact that African-American schools in the South received less state funding than white institutions, this reality was not due solely to inequitable state spending habits. Local, white-dominated school boards also seized state-appropriated school funds targeted for African-American institutions.[4] In 1916, the disparities between white and African-American appropriations for education were much more inequitable at the local level than at the state level in the South. According to a Bureau of Education Bulletin for that year:

> The divergencies in the county expenditures are much more striking than those for the States. State school funds are apportioned to counties and cities on the basis of population without reference to race. The officers of the local units supplement the State apportionment by local tax and then divide both State and local taxes between the races according to their own interpretation of the needs of each group. . . . The inequalities between the expenditures for white and colored schools are greatest in the "black belt" counties, where the Negroes form over 50 percent of the population. In such counties, large numbers of colored children are grouped in small one-teacher rural schools, while the more scattered white pupils are provided with a proportionately larger number of schools.[5]

Evidently, local school boards had the responsibility of distributing state funds to white and African-American schools "according to their own interpretation of the needs of each group."[6] Consequently, the larger the African-American community was in a particular state, the less

likely they were to receive their respective share of state school funds as demonstrated by the following tables:

TABLE 4A

WHITE AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN POPULATION DENSITY, 1916

County groups, Percentage of African-Americans in Population	White School Population	African-American Population
Counties Under 10 Percent	974,289	45,039
Counties 10 to 25 Percent	1,008,372	215,744
Counties 25 to 50 Percent	1,132,999	709,259
Counties 50 to 75 Percent	364,990	661,329
Counties 75 Percent and Over	40,003	207,900

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 39, vol. II, 11.

The bulletin concludes that while the disparity of wealth in white and African-American schools could be partially explained by the facts that African-American teachers earned lower wages and African-American schools had fewer facilities than white schools to maintain, these factors did not account for the large disparities in wealth between white and "black belt" counties.[7] The evidence provided by this bulletin also implies that racial discrimination

TABLE 4B

PER CAPITA SPENDING BY SOUTHERN STATES ON WHITE AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS, 1916

	Per Capita Spending on Whites	Per Capita Spending on African-Americans
Counties Under 10 Percent	$7.96	$7.23
Counties 10 to 25 Percent	$9.55	$5.55
Counties 25 to 50 Percent	$11.11	$3.19
Counties 50 to 75 Percent	$12.53	$1.77
Counties 75 Percent and over	$22.22	$1.78

Source: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 39, vol. II, 11.

accounted for the huge disparities between white and "black belt" counties.

In 1922, T. J. Woofter Jr., the Secretary of the Georgia Committee on Race Relations, noted similar findings to those of the 1916 Bureau of Education Bulletin. Woofter found that state appropriations for white and African-American education were not equitable, especially since local white communities seized the African-American share of state school funds. The issuance of school bonds by certain towns often resulted in a situation where African-American schools were left out. Woofter explained: "The state

appropriation for colored schools should be increased. The Negroes receive only about 1/25th of the amount spent for state schools."[8]

One place in particular where there was a large disparity between the amount of money distributed by the local school board for African-American and white schools was in Savannah, Georgia. The Board of Education of Savannah, Georgia, voted in favor of $213,000 for the construction of an additional school for whites on 23 November 1928. The whites of that city already had thirteen schools, while African-Americans had one school and four makeshift institutions. This disparity existed in spite of the fact that the populations of both groups were about the same size.[9] While African-American children were being herded into one-room schools, white children enjoyed the pleasure of learning in more comfortable surroundings.

Even when federal and state appropriations were made for black education, local white school boards and communities often seized the money granted for black schools. Consequently, some federal officials expressed pessimism about the benefits of funding African-American or other minority group's education. For example, in 1936, Dr. Charles H. Judd, a member of the National Advisory Committee on Education, made this statement at the National Education

Association proceedings entitled "Some Aspects of the Question of Federal Aid to Education":

> There is absolutely no guarantee as all history proves that federal appropriations will produce good schools, good educational opportunities for Mexicans, Negroes, all children in the states which are drained of wealth in behalf of the great industrial and banking centers, where capital is concentrated. The quality of education must be safeguarded. Unless all forms of support can be so arranged that they will surely contribute to the betterment of schools, there can be no enthusiasm for new contributions from any source, least of all from the federal government.[10]

The majority of Southern states that maintained legally segregated public school facilities for African-Americans never gave them their fair share of the available funds provided through their own legislation. This resulted in the widening of the disparity in wealth between white and African-American schools during the first half of the twentieth century. For example, in 1900, the difference in the per capita expenditures on white and African-American pupils for public education was 48 percent, but by 1930, this inequality ballooned to 252.5 percent.[11]

Not only was the lack of funds a possible indicator of a second-rate African-American school, but another important indicator of its poor condition was the status of its teachers. If a school's teachers were underpaid because of their race, it was an example of a calculated effort at discrimination by the employer. More importantly, some

underpaid schoolteachers had to quit their jobs since they were not able to support themselves or their families. As a result, many African-American schools were overcrowded, suffered from a lack of teachers, and were generally in poor condition.[12]

An examination of teachers' salaries in Atlanta, Georgia, for the year 1903 reveals that African-American grammar school teachers were paid less than white teachers no matter what grade level they taught. The salaries listed in Table 4 were paid over a ten-month period:

TABLE 5

TEACHERS' SALARIES IN ATLANTA, 1903

	White	African-Americans
Seventh Grade Teacher	$1600	$400
Sixth Grade Teacher	$575	$375
Fifth Grade Teacher	$550	$375
Fourth Grade Teacher	$525	$350
Third Grade Teacher	$500	$350
Second Grade Teacher	$500	$350
First Grade Teacher	$600	$400

Source: Atlanta, Georgia, Board of Education, Thirtieth Report, January 1901 to June 30, 1903.

The supervisor of white elementary schools in one Southern state commented on the teaching situation of African-American schools in 1916:

> Most of the teachers are absolutely untrained and have been given certificates by the county board, not

> because they have passed the examination, but because it is necessary to have some kind of a Negro teacher. Among the Negro rural schools which I have visited, I have found only one in which the highest class knew the multiplication table.[13]

The 1930s brought no rectification to the vast differences between the wages of white and African-American teachers. A letter from Crawford Greene, the Director of Information and Research for the Arkansas Department of Education to Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation demonstrates not only the disparity in teachers' salaries for that state, but also the canniness of the local school board to control and manipulate African-American teachers' salaries:

> Although there is no difference between the salaries of Negro and white teachers set up either by statute or agreement of the State Board of Education of Arkansas, in actual practice, the Negro teachers get considerable less than the white teachers but the establishment of salaries is entirely at the discretion of the local school board.

The letter further stated that the average salaries of teachers for the 1935-6 school year were $545 for whites and $319 for African-Americans.[14]

The inadequate facilities of African-American schools also contributed to their overall poor condition. One Southern state superintendent of schools expressed contempt for the facilities of African-American schools in his state in 1916:

> There has never been any serious attempt in this State to offer adequate educational facilities for the colored race. The average length of the term for the State is only four months; practically all of the schools are taught in dilapidated churches, which of course, are not equipped with suitable desks, blackboards, and the other essentials of a school . . . the schools are generally overcrowded, some of them having as many as 100 students to the teacher . . . .[15]

The value of African-American equipment as indicated by various state educational reports between 1900 and 1954 confirms that African-American school facilities were worth significantly less than white schools. Both state and local governments, while maintaining and expanding the facilities of public secondary education for white children, refused to provide high schools for black children. Historian Louis Harlan noted that in 1900 South Carolina had thirty graduating students, while Virginia had twenty-eight, and North Carolina had four. In 1903, Georgia had only seven four-year public high schools for blacks, which graduated only ninety-four students. However, for the most part some black high schools were either nonexistent or provided such poor academic training that they should have been classified as elementary schools, rather than high schools.[16]

In order to combat the financial hardship of their schools, African-American Southerners raised most of the money for their children's education. They did this primarily by practicing a system of double taxation. Since

Southern public school authorities diverted school taxes largely to the improvement of white public education, blacks had to make private contributions to finance black schools. For black schools to be recognized and even partially supported by the state and local school authorities, black Southerners had to give the state their contributions of money, land, and school equipment. In addition to the money, land, labor, and building materials that rural blacks gave to pay for the costs of building a school, they also contributed large amounts of money and labor to maintain and improve school buildings. So, in addition to paying regular income taxes, Southern blacks paid a second tax by financing the development of black schools. In the late 1920s, each of fourteen Southern states established "Rosenwald School Day," an annual event that ended the year-long campaigns to raise money and provide labor for school improvement activities.[17]

It was especially difficult for African-Americans to make private contributions for the maintenance of public schools during the 1920s and 1930s. Due to severe economic times, their already low incomes dropped to even lower levels during those years. Various studies of rural African-American families at that time indicated that most of them were tenant farmers and sharecroppers who only

earned an income which provided for bare subsistence living.[18]

The process of double taxation, stemming from a lack of funding for African-American schools, was financially burdensome. First, the weight of public taxation on real property, land, and business, fell heavily on the South's African-American laboring class. Southern planters and industrialists' whose land holdings were taxed, paid these taxes by lowering the wages of common laborers, most of whom were black. Second, although this type of "self-help" promoted sacrifice, it was very unfair. African-American southerners paid their taxes as citizens, and while white taxpayers received a system of free public education African-American taxpayers gained practically nothing, except when they taxed themselves again. The Rosenwald school building campaign was the most visible component of a deeper and wider process of double taxation.[19]

Despite such inequitable educational conditions however, some African-American schools managed to provide a first-rate education. In particular, the Jeanes Teachers significantly improved the quality of education for African-Americans in the South. The Jeanes Fund was named after Miss Anna Thomas Jeanes. Jeanes was the youngest of ten children born to Isiah Jeanes and Anna Thomas on 7 April,

1822. In 1850, Isiah Jeanes died. After his death, Isiah's children lived together for over thirty years. One brother, Joseph Jeanes, derived the bulk of the family's wealth through his involvement with coal fields in Schyukill County, Pennsylvania. The eldest brother, Jacob, was a famous homeopathic physician who died in 1877. When Anna's other siblings died, she was left alone as the sole heir of the family's wealth.[20]

Just prior to Anna Jeanes' death on 24 September 1907, she set aside a fund for rudimentary education in small African-American rural schools. Jeanes invited several influential people to her home as witnesses. She fixed the amount of the fund at one million dollars and stipulated that Howard Taft, Andrew Carnegie, Hollis S. Frissell, Booker T. Washington, George Foster Peabody, and anybody else they wished, should form the Board of Trustees. After her contribution, the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation became the Negro Rural School Fund. This fund was to be directed:

> Solely towards the maintenance and assistance of rural community or country schools for Southern Negroes. The Fund was not for the use or benefit of large institutions, but for the purpose of rudimentary education as here in before referred to and to promote peace in the land and good will among men.[21]

The first Jeanes agent, or supervising teacher, Virginia Randolph, an African-American woman, began work in

1908. After teaching at Mountain Road school in Richmond, Virginia, Miss Randolph accepted a position as Supervisor of the Henrico County Training School in Richmond. The school was a decrepit building that stood on a roughly cleared patch of dirt. Conditions at the school were no better or worse than many African-American schools of the period. The first day Miss Randolph worked, she enrolled fourteen students.[22]

Randolph worked very hard to improve the conditions at the Henrico County Training School. For example, she improved the appearance of the school grounds by putting down gravel and growing grass:

> Having been taught to make the best of what you have, I began trying to improve conditions . . . My first work was to try and improve the school grounds. Mrs. Gary who lived just opposite the school, had a gravel pit. I went to her to buy gravel, but she said, 'pay for the hauling, you may have the gravel.' I had no money, but I organized a 'Willing Workers Club,' gave entertainments, and secured the necessary funds. After getting the yard level, my next thought was a green lawn. One of the oldest patrons in the community, Mrs. Valentine, gave me the lawn grass seed. I had a nice soil put on the ground and then sowed the grass. Before this, the ground was unsightly. I remember on many occasions, the School Board would go in mud to the hub of their buggy, trying to get to the school.[23]

Randolph's determination and drive was also reflected in her religious conviction in organizing a Sunday school for her students. Having no Bibles or hymn books, she applied to the chairman of the school board, Mr. J. S.

Bryan, for permission to have Sunday School. Mr. Bryan's father, Joseph Bryan, heard of Randolph's request and sent money for bibles, books, and an organ. The Sunday school was in existence yearly for five years.[24]

One result of Randolph's efforts was that the little one-room school changed significantly. A Patrons' Improvement League was organized, the building was regularly swept and cleaned; vines and flowers gave way to beautiful plants and trees; a pathway made access to the school easier from the road, and green lawns enhanced the contrast between the old and the new. In these and other ways, Virginia Randolph, enlarged the range and scope of industrial education. Although she firmly believed in "learning by doing," she did not neglect the teaching of academic school subjects. Through hard work, determination, and unselfishness, Virginia Randolph turned the Henrico County Training School into a hub of life and activity in the community. By 1937, the name of the Henrico County Training School became the Virginia Randolph County Training School, with an enrollment of 235 pupils.[25]

Virginia Randolph's dedication did not go unnoticed by other Jeanes Teachers. Thereafter, many other state agents for African-American education and their assistants continued Randolph's hard work. In 1913 the number of

supervisors was 122; by 1919-20 it had risen to 218; and in 1930-31 no less than 329 Jeanes Teachers labored in the South.[26]

An examination of the condition of African-Canadian schools during the same period demonstrates that African-Canadian schools were similar in condition to African-American schools in the South. Certain provinces in Canada, like Southern states, did not support African-Canadian schools. In 1918, the eastern Canadian province of Nova Scotia failed to support adequately its African-Canadian schools. In Nova Scotia, all children in the province had access to schools except the African-Canadian section of Fundy. Fundy had a school-aged population of at least twenty, but there was no school in that area for ten years and the province would not provide funds to build one.[27]

Likewise, in 1927, African-Canadian taxpayers of Five Mile Plains, Nova Scotia, refused to pay school taxes in protest of the lack of financial support from the province. The Canadian Gypsum Company, a major employer of African-Canadians at the time, offered $200 towards the construction of an African-Canadian school provided that the African-Canadian community would contribute an equivalent amount, which it did. Although in 1929, the African-Canadian community of Guysborough, Nova Scotia, raised funds for the

construction of a school in their area through concerts and benefit suppers, the community only received a small grant from the Department of Education.[28]

However, it must be noted that some African-Canadians escaped from the scourges of discriminatory education. Since the pattern of discrimination was uneven across Canada, some African-Canadians had the option of sending their children to the integrated public school in their district. More often than not the integrated public school offered African-Canadians more advantages than segregated schools. Segregated schools tended to be in isolated, rural areas and were small and poorly constructed. Teachers were difficult to find since some whites refused to teach in them, and qualified African-Canadian teachers were scarce. In contrast, the integrated schools were usually located in the cities with better equipment.

Generally speaking, the poor economic status of most African-Canadian families and the very limited number of careers open to them, no matter how well-educated they were, did not allow them to improve their economic situation. This reality was summed up in the late 1920s by the pastor of an African-Canadian church in St. John, New Brunswick,[29] who noted that while African-Canadians had the opportunity to go to white schools, they "do not benefit by it because

they see little chance of getting employment at home after securing an education, and the possibilities of getting to America are very limited."[30]

It would appear upon initial examination, that African-Canadians did not suffer the same kind of abuses, in so far as education was concerned in their local communities as did African-Americans. However, while there is little statistical data to indicate that African-Canadians were deprived of their share of provincial school funds, a 1918 report by the Nova Scotia House of Assembly suggests otherwise. For instance, in the towns of Acaciaville and Joggin, Nova Scotia, school inspectors noted that these areas were not working in conformity with the provincial Education Act, but rather according to a regulation of the Board of Commissioners of 1866.[31]

The Education Act of 1918 basically entitled all school children in Nova Scotia to the same educational opportunities. However, by keeping African-Canadians' share of provincial school funds, white school officials prevented African-Canadian children from attending school for a full term. Consequently, in contrast to the white children of Acaciaville and Joggin, African-Canadian children in those areas only attended school for a third of the time that whites did.[32]

However, as one Canadian historian noted, African-Canadian schools were not mandated by force of law but rather by local option:

> Between the two extremes of expressly prohibiting and expressly requiring segregated schools by law, lies the soft middle ground where the Negro may not be mentioned in any statute, or where legislation may permit individual school boards to establish separate schools, creating a form of local option to be exercised by either majority or minority. Such has been the Canadian experience.[33]

The availability of qualified teachers also affected the efficiency of African-Canadian schools during the first half of the twentieth century. As shown in chapter one, the discriminatory immigration policies of Canada kept many potential teachers for African-Canadian schools out of the country. Therefore, African-Canadian schools had a hard time finding qualified teachers. This statement is verified by the annual report of the Superintendent of Education of Nova Scotia schools in 1918, which indicated that teachers were scarce in African-Canadian schools.[34]

This scarcity did not change over time. By 1930, African-Canadian schools in Nova Scotia suffered not only from a shortage of teachers, but also from a lack of equipment and transportation as well. As a result, in seven localities, African-Canadian schools operated only during the summer.[35]

A clear case of how African-Canadian schools suffered because of a lack of teachers and facilities occurred in 1949. In Maroon Hill, Nova Scotia, Mrs. P. L. Caldwell, a white native of that province, set up a school in her house which operated mainly out of her kitchen. Although there was a public school in Maroon Hill, whites barred African-Canadians from attending it. Furthermore, no one in Maroon Hill volunteered to teach the African-Canadian children except Mrs. Caldwell. One Canadian newspaper described the plight of Maroon Hill African-Canadians well:

> The younger pupils use the kitchen under the watchful eye of Mrs. Caldwell. The older ones are in another room by themselves because Mrs. Caldwell believes they are old enough to study without supervision.[36]

Mrs. Caldwell taught nineteen African-Canadian children in her kitchen, all of whom were enrolled in grades one through seven.[37] Although this was a crowded and difficult environment for learning, the case of Maroon Hill demonstrated Mrs. Caldwell's commitment to her students.

The Maroon Hill situation demonstrated the desperate need for both teachers and facilities for African-Canadian schools during that time period. Similarly then, while African-Canadian schools struggled to find teachers, they also needed better facilities. In the city of Windsor, Ontario, 95 percent of all African-Canadian children

attended the racially-segregated Mercer Street school. Mercer Street was located in the heart of the Windsor's "black belt" during the 1920s. The Mercer Street school was one of the oldest buildings in the city, and it lacked a gym, an auditorium, or other extracurricular facilities. The Mercer's play area was cinder-covered and not even large enough to hold a softball game.[38]

Other African-Canadian communities in Ontario also had schools that were in substandard condition. In cities such as Buxton, Harrow, and Shrewsbury, the poorest facilities were allocated to African-Canadians. Despite the poor conditions of their schools, some African-Canadian children could consider themselves to be fortunate because some teachers such as P. L. Caldwell took an interest in their educational welfare. However, the fact still remains that African-Canadian children were exposed to such conditions and had a difficult time receiving an education.[39]

As a result, for the most part African-Canadian families had to fund their youth's education without help from private organizations. African-Canadian churches during the early twentieth century organized adult education programs and makeshift private schools. On Sundays, church buildings were regularly transformed into schools that

provided education that was usually religious, remedial, or domestic (e.g., housekeeping) in nature.[40]

In the end, most African-American and African-Canadian schools from 1896 to 1954 were not funded well by the government; had poorly paid, under qualified, or nonexistent teachers; and suffered from poor educational facilities. These factors combined to fuel the conventional wisdom that blacks were inferior to whites by nature. While the notion of black inferiority has been disproved over the years by many scientists and researchers, white supremacists pointed to the shabby condition of black schools between 1896 and 1954 as proof that blacks were inherently inferior.

Clearly however, the evidence presented in this chapter has demonstrated that it was racial discrimination, and not racial inferiority, that caused the poor state of African-American and African-Canadian schools during the first half of the twentieth century. In sum, the structure of African-Americans and African-Canadian education was built on sand, providing a weak foundation. They received a second-rate education that was countered in part by dedicated teachers and eager students.

One must also note the differences in the situations of African-American and African-Canadian schools. First, while virtually all African-Americans in the South had to go

to segregated schools, some African-Canadians had the opportunity to attend integrated schools, which offered them much better educational facilities. Second, while many African-Americans had philanthropic organizations, such as the Peabody Fund and the Rosenwald Fund to draw from (under certain conditions), in Canada, there was no such groups contributing to African-Canadian schools. When outside sources did finance African-Canadian schools, it was usually done by private businesses or the provincial government. Similarly though, the lack of funding of African-American and African-Canadian schools demonstrated that both groups were victims of inequitable educational opportunities.

As this paper has demonstrated, both African-Americans, especially those living in the Southern states, and African-Canadians experienced a substandard education during the first half of the twentieth century. There were several reasons for this situation. First, both nations had de jure and de facto segregation which endorsed the misconception that blacks were inherently inferior. In the United States, the court cases of Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) and Cumming v. Richmond County School Board, Augusta, Georgia (1899) showed that segregated education was legal in the United States and that whites were legally authorized to abuse the funding and operation of black schools. Likewise, in Canada, provincial

governments such as Nova Scotia, legally sanctioned segregated schooling. However, for the most part, black Canadians went to segregated schools because they were socially ostracized by whites.

Second, the program of industrial education espoused by Booker T. Washington and others contributed to the substandard education of blacks in the United States and Canada. Although Booker T. Washington advocated industrial education for blacks as a means of "self-help" and "racial-uplift", white school boards in the South used industrial education to maintain their segregated school systems. Furthermore, some philanthropists would only finance black schools that emphasized an industrial education program as opposed to a liberal arts curriculum.

As a consequence, many black students lacked the appropriate educational background for admission to a college or university. The fact that there were relatively few black graduates further fueled the false notion of some whites that blacks were inherently inferior. In Canada, some schools also adopted the industrial education program. However, frequently the industrial education curriculum did not lead to better job opportunities for blacks.

Lastly, African-American and African-Canadian schools shared a lack of funding during the first half of the

twentieth century. Inadequate funding was caused by Southern states, Canadian provinces, and local school boards that intentionally withheld funds designated for black schools. The lack of funding also contributed to a shortage of teachers and facilities in both countries. All of these factors helped to demonstrate how and why African-Americans and African-Canadians received a substandard education during the first half of the twentieth century. Further, these factors contribute significantly to our understanding of African-American and African-Canadian education during the era of segregation.

NOTES

[1]J. H. Brinson to R. B. Eleazer, 5 March, 1926. Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) Papers, Division of Archives and Special Collections, Robert Woodruff Library, Atlanta.

[2]Texas State Department of Education to R. B. Eleazar, 4 March, 1926, CIC Papers.

[3]South Carolina State Department of Education to R. B. Eleazer, 25 February, 1926, CIC Papers.

[4]James D. Anderson, The Education of Blacks in the South 1860-1935 (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina press, 1988), 186; also see Louis R. Harlan, Separate and Unequal (New York: Atheneum, 1968), p.40.

[5]U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 39, vol. II, p.11.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid.

[8]"Progress in Race Relations in Georgia", Report by T. J. Woofter Jr., Secretary of the Georgia Committee on Race Relations for 1922, CIC Papers.

[9]"Negroes Must Wait--$213,000 School for Whites to Be Built--Equal Population 13 Schools for Whites Against 1 School and 4 Makeshifts for Negroes, No Negro Representation on School board", Savannah Journal, Savannah, Georgia, 24 November, 1928.

[10]CIC Papers, National Education Association, Proceeding, 1936, p.427.

[11]Chas H. Thompson, "The Federal Program of Vocational Education in Negro Schools of Less than College Grade", The Journal of Negro Education, Yearbook 7, 1938, 304-17.

[12]Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 259-61; Anderson, p.110.

[13]Dept. of Interior, Bulletin, 1916, 39, p.15.

[14]CIC Papers, Crawford Greene to Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, 29 July, 1937.

[15]Dept. of Interior, Bulletin, 1916, 15.

[16]Harlan, 28.

[17]Anderson, 156; 173.

[18]Ibid., 173.

[19]Ibid., 181-3.

[20]The NASC Interim History Writing Committee, The Jeanes Story (Jackson, Mississippi: Southern Education Foundation, 1979), 8-9.

[21]Ibid., 10.

[22]Lance G. E. Jones, The Jeanes Teacher in the United States 1908-1933 (Chapel Hill: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1937), 25-6.

[23]Ibid., 26.

[24]Jones, 28.

[25]Ibid., 32-3.

[26]The Jeanes Story, 16; Jones, 72.

[27]Nova Scotia, House of Assembly, 1918, Part 1, Appendix 5, 66.

[28]Nova Scotia, Journals and Proceedings of the Legislative council of the Province of Nova Scotia, 1928, 44, 47; 1931, 41.

[29]New Brunswick is an eastern province in Canada and along with Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, comprises the section of the country known as the Maritime Provinces.

[30]Ida C. Greaves, National Problems of Canada: The Negro in Canada (Orillia: Packet-Times Press, 1931), 68.

[31]Nova Scotia, House of Assembly, 1918, 66-7. Unfortunately the House of Assembly report did not provide specific details about the 1866 regulation of the Board of Commissioners. The report did allude to the fact however that the regulation was both illegal and resulted in whites taking blacks' share of provincial school funds in Nova Scotia during the early twentieth century.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada (Montreal, New Haven & London: McGill-Queen's and Yale Univ. Press, 1971), 363-4.

[34]Nova Scotia, House of Assembly, 1918, Part I, 66.

[35]Winks, 380.

[36]"Negro Children Denied Right to Study in N.S. School", Toronto Globe & Mail, 28 November, 1949.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Carol Talbot, Growing Up Black in Canada (Toronto: Williams-Wallace Publishers, 1984), 15.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Winks, 386.

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